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HISTORY OF SAMOA



BY

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of the District Court of Samoa.*



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NO VIMU
AMAROQUAD

To

*The Officers and Men of the Advance
Party of the N.Z.E.F. and particularly
to the Memory of those of them who, hav-
ing gone further afield, have fallen for
their country.*

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PREFACE

The occupation of German or Western Samoa by an advance party of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the memorable August of 1914 has given to these islands such interest for the peoples of the Empire, and especially for Australasians, as can at no time have existed before the Great War. Yet New Zealand's concern in Samoan affairs is of long standing; and, so far from being destitute of historical interest, Samoa's record shows prominence altogether beyond her desert. She long was the scene and the subject of repeated strifes, to which many individuals and three great nations, England, America and Germany, were parties, strifes not invariably creditable and involving frequent, at times agitated, changes of control. Of all this, and of Samoa's earlier as well as her later history, the threads lie in many directions, and some of them are disappearing; they go to form a story the web of which it is believed has never

been textured up as a whole. The pursuit of this story has held a constant fascination for the writer during much of his stay in Samoa; it was in the desire of gathering it into a clear, sequent, and above all a faithful and not over-coloured record that the history which follows was entered upon. It is hoped that the brevity of the book, which is the converse of the amount of research involved, will be found consistent with completeness and accuracy.

The thanks of the writer are due to the many who have from time to time supplied him with much of the necessary material, and for a great deal of the information contained in Chapter IX to his friend Alexander Stronach, Judge of the High and District Courts of American Samoa.

Apia, Samoa.

31st December, 1917.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY DESCRIPTION.

STRUNG loosely out, west by north along and across the parallel of 14° south latitude, and between 168° and 173° west longitude, there lies in the Western Pacific Ocean a volcanic chain of four main islands and a number of lesser subjacent islets. The chain, or group, is now collectively known by its native name, Samoa.

Westernmost sits Savaii, the largest and most lofty island of the four, fifty miles long and twenty-five across at its broadest, in shape a rough rhomboid humping itself to a great central height. On Savaii has been considerable recent and much remote volcanic activity, so that the greater part of the surface of this island is unsuited for habitation. And though larger it is neither so fertile nor so populous as Upolu, next east of it and the principal island of the group. Upolu is a high ridge forty-five miles long and at its greatest width some thirteen miles, on the northern side of which, about midway of its length, is Apia, the natural capital of

all Samoa. These two, Savaii and Upolu, and the smaller islands adjoining, notably the inhabited islets of Manono and Apolima lying between them, comprise the territory of German or Western Samoa, now in British military occupation.

Nearly forty miles to the eastward of Upolu and a little south lies American Samoa, the first and main island of which is Tutuila, stretching east and west eighteen miles. Here on its southern side is Pago Pago, the sole real harbour of the group which the United States Government has improved by the establishment of a naval station. Further east is the little group known as Manu'a, comprising the islands of Tau, Ofu and Olosega, and, still further east and again a little south, the small uninhabited and unimportant Rose Island.

All the islands are of volcanic origin and formation, with the exception of Rose Island which is a coral atoll, and all the main islands are high. In Upolu mountains rise to three thousand feet, in Savaii to over four thousand feet. Dark forests richly clothe the ridges to their summits, for there is a plentiful rainfall throughout the group; the more lively green of cocoanut cultivation as abundantly covers the lower planes. The slopes of all are thus luxuriantly wooded, except those portions of Savaii where more recent lava flows

have scarred long and broad avenues to the sea. Seaward, many parts of the islands, and especially of Upolu, are surrounded by coral reefs enclosing shallow lagoons that form good fishing grounds for the natives and safe and pleasant waterways for their canoes and boats of passage.

Within the group have dwelt, for so long that their foreign origin was one hundred years ago quite unknown to them, a handsome branch of the pleasant peoples of Eastern and Central Polynesia. Of light reddish-brown colour, with straight hair and pleasing features, well-framed and stately, the Samoans have for the main part yet preserved the native beauty and amiability of their race. To those who have dwelt in their midst they appear essentially material, yet fond of extending as of receiving courtesy and even flattery; childlike, but by no means devoid of deceit; hospitable indeed, but supplicatory, for they are polite communists; free, yet rarely viciously immoral. If admiration of them is tinged with a certain disappointment, affection surely remains. The whole of the native population now lives on or near the coast; the mountains, save where plantations mark the lower slopes, are all in their forest vestments. Roads or tracks follow the shore line of the three larger islands. In Upolu, and in parts of Savaii, the wayfarer may pass

through village after village, often with but little break between, and there will be unfolded before him brown-thatch, mushroom-shaped houses bowered in banana groves and clumps of bread-fruit, screw-pine and towering cocoanut palm, with many a dainty glimpse beyond of reef and sea. Except in the hottest hours of the day the natives are abroad in pleasant, sensible discharge of their daily duties, and from each busy group there is always some gay remark, some kindly invitation or greeting, for the passer-by. Nearly every village now has, close to shore and track, its washing and bathing pools, stone-lined, where cool hill-springs gurgle up—and these are lively centres of gossip and flirtation.

The latitude of the group postulates tropical climes and tropical warmth. Yet the heat of Samoa is not equatorial and the air, while generally relaxing and moisture-laden, is tempered by high lands and by fairly constant breezes from the surrounding seas. Hurricanes, the scourge of much of the Pacific, are here unknown, though severe northerly gales are to be expected, generally without disappointment, in the late months of the wet and boisterous summer season. Few who are of European descent will prefer the climate of Samoa above that of the more temperate zones; there is, it

may be said, little natural comfort for the normal European who must take constant precaution against small tropical sickness and inconvenience, particularly during the first half-year of residence and always and more particularly where his women-folk and children are concerned; yet the climate, for low latitudes, is not unhealthy and malaria and severer fevers are unknown. Venemous snakes do not exist; the centipede and the scorpion are there, but one hardly ever hears of their bites; and the chief troubler of mankind is the persistent mosquito with his train of filarial disorders. Agricultural work is impossible for whites, prolonged sedentary employment injurious. Clearly the islands, small, mountainous, tropical, are unsuited for extensive European settlement. And yet it is a noticeable feature that Europeans who have made lengthy stay rarely retire from the group, it is thought from choice as well as from force of circumstances. The islands are said to take hold of a man, softly and so that he does not care. Certain it is that the climate forbids to Europeans for more than a few years the continued exercise and enjoyment of mental and physical vigour. Excessive use of alcohol, mental or physical strain as well as mental or physical neglect, but hasten the process, and, if persisted in, are

provocative of neurasthenia and a general weakening of the powers. It becomes in the end easier to talk about things than to do them—to talk lightly and with repeated phrase, even to the extent of deceiving oneself; and the European is then no longer fitted for the life he has come from—but he will have broken himself into the islands

The normal population of Western Samoa consists approximately of 500 whites, 1,000 half and other castes, and 36,000 natives; that of Eastern or American Samoa of some 180 whites, 300 half and other castes, and 7,500 natives. The fertile portions of the group are largely under cultivation and are capable in places of extension and of supporting a considerably larger native population. As is the case in many other South Sea groups native cultivations are mostly of cocoanut, but also and extensively of banana, breadfruit, yam and taro; the European plantations consist in the main of cocoanut, cocoa and rubber. The Samoan in his own surroundings makes an indifferent hired man, and in consequence indentured Chinese and Melanesian plantation labour has been introduced into Upolu and to a small extent on Savaii. In August 1914 there were some 2,200 Chinese labourers, mostly on Upolu. The number has been reduced by repatriations to 1520. The

Melanesians number 600, mostly Solomon Islanders, and are employed upon the extensive plantations of the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft of Hamburg and in lighterage work in the roadstead of Apia.

Except for the naval station at Pago Pago the group is easily self-supporting. The total annual trade, imports and exports, of the whole group rarely exceeds in value half a million pounds sterling, and ninety per cent. of this comes from Western Samoa.

The capital, Apia, is a straggling yet busy little port and centre of trade and government, built along the shore road of a wide, reef-bound bay that affords a good anchorage in the steady trade winds, but is a danger spot for ships during northerly summer gales. The future trade of the port appears to be in the hands of the half-castes, among whom are now numbered some of the leading merchants of the town. The name, Apia, is that of a native village forming but a small part of a town which carries a total and varied population of some thousands and embraces many villages. Trading stores—for there is still no specialisation in shops—and government buildings flank the beach; behind are widespread suburbs and native settlements. Minor industries are beginning to

make their appearance. Outside Apia the country and its people rest quietly in a golden warmth and sunshine, and the outer trader lazes his days away. "The people of Apia" said an old chief of Upolu once to the writer "are restless and wicked." That is as may be. The steamer passenger who sees from the deck of his vessel what appears to be a drowsy little South Sea town will on landing behold much activity in motor and horse traffic and no little coming and going of many nationalities.

This then is the present setting of the stage on which the events of the chronicle that follows have taken place. Not so bijou as Tonga, far less important than Fiji, Samoa forms a small entity, self-existing yet having much in common with both, as they have with all the tropical islands of the Pacific. Much that is preposterous has been said and written of Samoa, as of other spots where life may differ somewhat from the usual standards. It can at once be admitted, in truth and without any obloquy, that it is not a great place, that it probably never will be. But the little country and its kindly native people, as easy as any in the world to control, deserve in the future a fuller measure of sympathetic understanding and of quiet equitable government than was, as the diligent reader may discover, for long their portion in the past.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY.

(Before 1830)

PRIOR to 1830, in which year agents of the London Missionary Society established a mission, very little of Samoa was known to the civilised world. The posts which mark that olden time have nearly all gone; the modern ones that have been reared in their place are not always of undoubted authority. It has been said that the present Polynesian inhabitants are the successors of an ancient fair-skinned megalithic people. More writers than one have recorded that the island of Upolu, probably though by no means certainly, the oldest formation of the group, contains a relic of megalithic man in the Fale-o-le-fe'e, or House of the Cuttlefish, which one learned ethnologist has described as "an ellipse of giant stone columns, no mean rival of our Stonehenge." At the risk of a diversion the truth concerning this travellers' tale must be set down. The interesting relic is situate some eight miles inland of Apia, on a little flat in the upper waters of one of the larger streams of the

island. There is, at the upper end of the flat, a basaltic cliff, thirty feet or so high, from which has dropped a number of small stone columns. And of these some have been, very imperfectly, set round in an ellipse—the shape of the ordinary native house—a few yards below. None of the stones bear any evidence of dressing. None are deep set in the ground. None are too large or too heavy for one man to lift. The writer has sacrilegiously tried them all, after lunch be it said, and dropped them back into place again. A few stones have been laid horizontally to form a square—the chair of the fe'e. There are pretty native stories concerning the stones, in age anything from eighty years up, but these must be gathered elsewhere. The point is that there is nothing to indicate any pre-Polynesian antiquity, and that there was required no colossal effort in the building. The relic (if a theory is worth anything) may be the posts of a fale tele or large house built in a spot chosen for defence or as a retreat in war. There are native stories to support this view. It may have been originally roofed with wood and thatch which long ago have rotted into the warm damp bush. Or, as not seldom happens to many undertakings of these carefree people, it may have been always incom-

plete. With the relation of one further truth this digression is ended. As the writer smoked, the two sweet-natured Samoan giants who had accompanied him on his pilgrimage slashed away with their long knives the undergrowth from the site of the relic, and then—they deliberately grunted into place another two stones for the house of their romantic fish! Had reincarnation brought auld Edie Ochiltree and Bill Stumps together in this outer Eden?

There is, it may be conceded, nothing known in Samoa to indicate a race prior to its present native Polynesians. That they however have long resided in the group is clear. They have no suggestion in their legends, as the Maoris have, of migration from other lands. To them Samoa is the earth. The god Tagaloa, who dwelt in space and made the Heavens, and of whom it is not known how or whence he came, had a grandson called Lu. On one occasion Tagaloa, being annoyed with the boy, seized and beat him with the handle of the great god's fly-switch. Lu escaped, ran down to Earth, and named it Samoa.

From their appearance, from their undoubtedly relationship to other Polynesian peoples, it is probable that the Samoans are of an original Caucasian stock with which through the ages many

strains, almost certainly including the malayoid and not entirely excluding the negrito, have combined to produce a distinctive people. The question of the origin of the Polynesian has been much discussed by ethnologists, and where they differ and local evidence is, and apparently has long been, non-existent, the modern historian may with justification plead a great uncertainty. Probably several migrations from Southern Asia found their way to Polynesia. Professor Macmillan Brown traces, following Mr. S. Percy Smith, a last great migration, possibly two or three centuries before the Christian era, from the coast south of the Punjab, through part of the present Dutch East Indies, south of Celebes, along the north-east coast of New Guinea, and through the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and the Fiji group, to Tonga or Samoa. This, says Professor Brown, was "undoubtedly their route"; their final centre of dispersion in Polynesia was probably Samoa. It should be noted, *per contra*, that Dr. A. K. Newman is often very much of a different opinion.

A most interesting, practical, and experienced paper on this subject—the ethnology of the Pacific—was presented by the Revd. S. J. Whitmee F.R.G.S. to the Philosophical Society of Great Britain in 1879.

That Samoa was the cradle of much Polynesian settlement seems highly probable. It is quite likely that many hundreds of years ago Samoa produced masterful seafarers who scoured the wide Pacific and established the people of many islands. The Rev. J. B. Stair has collected interesting native records of such voyages. Ease of living, a softening climate, abundance in their own fair lands seem gradually to have changed the race to a domestic people. From being raiders they became the raided. Fijian conquerors are said to have established themselves in Manu'a in the dawn of known Samoan history, and to have received tribute from all Samoa. There are many Samoan legends which have as heroes and heroines princes and princesses of Fiji—legends which show ancient knowledge of the Fijian people and customs and indicate intercourse between Samoa and Fiji. Later the Tongans, probably after many raids, established themselves on Savaii, crossed to Upolu, and were eventually beaten from the group by the first Malietoa who arranged between Tonga and Samoa a treaty of peace which has been continuously observed by over twenty generations of the Malietoa family. Traces of these occupations are doubtless seen in the curling hair and darker skins of some of the people to-day.

Such tradition as has yet been preserved to the Samoans groups itself naturally under the three heads of war, national custom and legend, and family descent. Matters of family descent were carefully transmitted from father to son through many generations—the favoured place being the village green on the white nights of the increscent moon—and pedigrees are still given in the establishment of family names with definite assurance and with the agreement of opponents; national customs have greatly survived, but with modification; their legends, quietly slipping from the memory of the people, have been extensively recorded by many earlier settlers, and especially by missionaries. All these matters are exceedingly interesting, but are somewhat uncertain and can have place in this history only where it is necessary in individual cases to make reference to them. Of war more must be said. Warfare has ever been a recognised occupation of the younger men. The island of Upolu, from the earliest times of which we have information until quite recently, seems rarely to have been free from hostilities more or less extensive. It is certain that within the past two centuries Upolu has carried a population much in excess of its present numbers, for the traces of wider habitation are yet in many of its forests.

In 1830, and for years before, war made hideous ravages. The causes were often trivial, the methods a curious admixture of childish regard for ceremony and of craft, of careless generosity and of cruelty. Clubs and spears of various patterns and slings were the usual weapons. Both land and sea forces were employed, either separately or in conjunction, and sea-fights seem to have been at times as destructive of life as were battlefields ashore. It is not possible to give chronological order to the traditions of these internecine wars. The pioneer missionary John Williams, in 1832, found that the people of Manono had a record kept by means of collected stones of one hundred and ninety seven battles. And it was but two years before, in August of 1830, that Williams, landing on Savaii from his schooner *Messenger of Peace*, saw across the strait in Upolu "the mountains enveloped in flames and smoke" and on enquiring the cause was informed "that a battle had been fought that very morning and that the flames which we saw were consuming the houses, the plantations and the bodies of women and children and infirm people" who had fallen into the hands of the conquerors.

There is no record of cannibalism ever having been a prevailing custom in Samoa as was so

pronouncedly the case in Fiji, but as a "refinement of revenge," in punishment of evil acts on the part of a tyrant or other hated person, or even, it may be, in that spirit of noisy braggadocio with which the Samoan male still rejoices in the success of his prowess, the body of a conquered man was cooked and eaten. To this day "I will cook you in my oven" is an insult which may result in serious consequences. Of the slain the heads were taken by the victors and carried as trophies to their leaders.

The earliest recorded notices we have of Samoa are those of the Dutch "Three Ship Expedition," Jacob Roggeveen commanding, in its voyage round the world to Java via Cape Horn in 1721-1722. Roggeveen, according to his recorders, placed the group somewhat inexactly, called several of its islands by names now unused, and sailed away without landing. The honour of discovery may fairly be said to lie with France. In 1768 de Bougainville visited the group, in the course of his famous voyage round the world, and in 1787 de la Perouse. The former seeing many canoes moving along the shores of the islands named them the Navigators' Archipelago, a name much in vogue until recent years—probably until German occupation. La Perouse fixed the position of the

whole group. During his stay a shore party for water from both of his ships was attacked near Asu on Tutuila and Commandant Vicomte de Langle and ten of the ships' companies were killed, forty-nine escaping mostly with injuries. The cause of the quarrel and the share the visitors played in it are uncertain, but it is stated on good authority that a native was thought to have attempted to take something from aboard one of the ships (no crime in the eyes of a communistic Samoan) and was punished with the result that he died; the natives, keenly feeling the outrage, returned to the shore and attacked the boats' crews there. La Perouse's account of the affair most undeservedly gave Samoans for long after a name for treachery and bloodthirstiness. "I willingly," he entered in his Journal, "willingly abandon to others the task of writing the uninteresting history of these barbarous people; a stay of twenty-four hours and the relation of our misfortunes has sufficed to show their atrocious manners." A memorial was in 1883 placed upon the graves on Tutuila of the murdered men, "morts pour la Science et la Patrie."

In 1790 His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Pandora*, Captain Edwards, paid a visit to the group.

It is about this time that the arrival of white

men may first be noted. The American, or the dweller in the King's far-flung dominions, scarce exists who has not from a schoolboy seen in fancy the landing upon his shores of the first white men—strong, wise pioneers preparing the way of a nation. The comings of Columbus and of the Pilgrim Fathers have been well depicted in the States; the pioneer is much honoured in the Dominions. No such sentiment, alas, can be called up for the case of Samoa. The wise men were to follow, with a lasting and beneficent result to the islands. But those first whites, mostly British, occasionally American, who in all sorts of ways drifted to the shores of Samoa from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the late 'thirties, had no particular mission and even the lapse of time scarce finds them picturesque. "They were," says Pritchard, "with but few exceptions, convicts who had escaped from the penal settlements of Australia, and steeped in the deepest of crimes, caring nothing for their own lives, feared neither God nor man." They found a land sufficiently remote and not unpleasant, where food was plentiful, the people friendly to the point of kindness, the women comely, and work, as they knew it, unnecessary. But they were active men and had lived in a rough world. Generally they

attached themselves to particular districts and chiefs, assisted in warfare, lived the merry life of the cock who fought just when he might be so inclined, met it is said upon occasion and got drunk together on banana or pineapple rum, quarrelled and fought, died or lived as the case might be. They were wont to fill the natives with tales of their royal descent in England and elsewhere. A few attained ease and luxury by engrafting a new religion upon the priestly customs and zoolatry of the Samoans—a religion wherein the novel tenets received from the Great Spirit supported polygamy and dancing and above all the “competent maintenance of his priests by good feeding, unlimited supplies of ava, and free selection in women.” And the hymns were rollicking seamen’s songs!

Food for romance is here, but the truth is there was little of the romantic about these callosities of humanity. By 1850 they had practically all gone—died off or reformed with age.

Such was the first acquaintance of the islanders with the white man—he who “breaking through the sky” brought to them his wonderful clothing, his wonderful knowledge, his astounding energy. Certainly he impressed them with a sense of his prowess—more, they then gleaned what they have never forgotten, that the white man is an incom-

prehensible being, a leader but bad to cross, of enormous reserve in will power and executive force, but full of devilment and perverse command. The missionary stands apart, but all other white men are at heart the same, and are to be deceived accordingly. Well, in the whole round hundred years of the nineteenth century they had small cause to believe otherwise.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADVENT OF THE MISSIONARY.

(1830-1839)

BY inherited instinct the Samoans are lovers of religious observance. Now none can be found that is not a professed Christian, but long before the light of Christianity reached them, and its teachings found a ready response in their kindly natures, they possessed an elaborate, if variable, system of religion. Their mythology and methods of worship, which have been ably classified by earlier missionaries, differed widely from those of Tahiti and other Pacific groups, notably in that the custom of human sacrifice, practised with extensive and horrible cruelty in many parts of the Pacific, did not exist among the Samoans. They had various legends, creative of their Samoan world and of themselves as mankind, and they worshipped many high war and village gods and many lesser gods of the household. These they considered became in most cases incarnate in fish and animals or embodied in plants—to which visible object there was then attached a sacred prohibition against user by one under the care (and control) of the particular god.

Over all was Tagaloa of the Skies, the Samoan Jove, chief of the gods, creator of the universe, progenitor of other gods and of mankind. The office of priesthood was greatly hereditary and the priests had large powers. They fixed feast days for the gods, received the offerings of the people, and even decided the commencement of war. The people lived in great dread of the wrath of the gods, and the priests of their heathenry were exacting and avaricious.

The first knowledge of Christianity came to Samoa from Tonga, it is believed through Tongan preachers of the Wesleyan Mission there, about the year 1828, but the commencement of all missionary "enterprise" in the Samoan group really dates from August 1830 when John Williams of the London Missionary Society, and Charles Barff of the same, having sailed from Tahiti, landed at Sapapalii on Savaii and were there welcomed by the then Malietoa. This Society requires more than a passing notice, for its operations have profoundly affected the lives of the Samoans and therefore Samoan history. It was formed at London in 1795 by men of several Protestant denominations, under the name of "The Missionary Society," with a short written constitution which states the sole object of the Society to be "to spread

the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations." Certainly that object has been achieved, for the field of the Society has been world-wide, and the result of its work the institution in many wild places of peace and civilisation. Its first missionaries went out in 1796, bound for the South Seas, and missions were quickly established at Tahiti, Tonga and the Marquesas. Troubles followed, and the Tongan mission had to be abandoned in 1800. But the Tahitian mission later succeeded, greatly through the conversion of King Pomare in 1812. In 1816 the personnel of the mission was much increased from London and among those who then came to Tahiti were William Ellis, the author of "Polynesian Researches," and the famous John Williams. Williams in 1827 went to Rarotonga in the Cook group, and there he built a vessel of from seventy to eighty tons for island work which he called *Messenger of Peace*, and which, being built almost entirely of local products, was a remarkable effort of ingenuity. In this vessel, after some cruising largely to test its capabilities, he sailed to Samoa, landing as has been said on Savaii. Here by the willing aid of a Samoan chief named Fauea whom with his wife they had given a passage from Tongatabu a good first impression

was made with the natives; the white envoys were treated with attention and respect, and two missions, each of four Tahitian teachers, were established, one with Malietoa the other with his brother Taimalelagi. Williams then left the group, but about two years later he revisited it from the Manu'a end, some two hundred miles from Savaii, and was greatly, if agreeably, astonished to find the natives claiming the new religion and clamouring for a teacher. The extraordinary conversions on Tutuila, Upolu and Savaii were merely a corollary. Williams after visiting much of the group sailed away with the principal idol of heathendom stowed in his ship, whence he later presented it to the Society's museum in London. Samoa had found its natural doctrine of love.

Williams again visited the group in 1838, by which time British missionaries were settled and the entire population under instruction. He built a house for his wife, intending to make Samoa his headquarters. To the regret of the English-speaking world, however, he was not permitted to do so. In November 1839, while voyaging towards New Caledonia, he was murdered by natives as he landed on the beach at Erromanga, of the New Hebrides. His remains, and those of the young missionary Harris who was killed

at the same time, were later partly recovered and now lie buried beneath the Native Church of the mission at Apia—a fitting monument. His family were long settled in Samoa, his son John C. Williams becoming British Consul there in 1858 and holding the office for many years succeeding.

But the progress of the mission continued. Its people did quiet steady work in civilising the natives and many of them prepared and left valuable records of their observations of early native life. Checks on advancement were mainly due to native wars, which not only placed obstacles in the way of mission work but tended to draw the Samoans back into their old heathen superstitions and savagery. In 1839 the first printing press was erected, at Falelatai. In 1840 came Dr. George Turner whose work in Samoa extended over forty years. In 1884 the institution at Malua was founded. No history of Samoa can be complete without a short description of this Institution, which has greatly influenced native life not only of Samoa but of other Pacific groups. The territory of the Institution now consists of about three hundred acres, cultivated by the students who usually number slightly over one hundred, many of them married. There is also a High School for boys. The Institution is

practically a college for South Sea Islanders, framed on the lines of a Polynesian village community. From it Samoan pastors have long been trained, not only for Samoa but for the northward islands as far as New Guinea. Here too not a few natives of other groups have received instruction. There is at Malua also an up-to-date printing press which has turned out excellent work. In 1889 a training high school was started at Leulumoega by the Rev. J. W. Hills, who still has charge of it. Numerous other schools and churches of the Mission exist throughout the whole group, including two excellent high schools for native girls.

The London Missionary Society, known to the Samoans as the Tahitian church, claims some 28,000 members throughout the whole group.

There are two other missions which, though possessing much fewer adherents than the London Mission, have yet played a not unimportant part in the civilisation of the group. The Wesleyan Mission (the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia) to-day numbers nearly six thousand members, and the Roman Catholic Mission (now controlled by the Société de Marie) slightly more. The Wesleyan Mission, early established in Tonga, and known to the Samoans as the Tongan church,

was, as we have seen, the first to gain converts in Samoa. As a mission they commenced work in 1835 and in 1839 they claimed some 13,000 adherents. The withdrawal in that year, however, of the agents of the Society lost its church many members and much local advantage denominationally. In 1857 the mission was resumed. No record of the work of this mission is complete which fails to make mention of Dr. George Brown, late president of the Methodist Church of Australasia, who was appointed to Samoa in 1860 and spent fourteen years there in mission work, and who ended in 1917 a life of long activity in southern seas.

The Catholic Mission, known to the Samoans as the Church of the Pope, commenced its work in Samoa about the year 1845, and is to-day firmly established throughout the whole group. One of its most famous adherents was the great Mataafa. In 1905, the construction of a beautiful cathedral in Apia, which had occupied over twenty years, was finished. The building is a landmark of white purity, and the sweetness of its bells will be remembered by all who have lived in Apia. The mission now controls numerous schools in Apia and elsewhere and an institution for instruction in tropical agriculture at Moamoa, three miles or so inland of the little capital.

Two further missions came later. The Mormon Mission (the Church of Latter-Day Saints) established itself in 1885 and is doing good educative work on Tutuila and Upolu. The Church of Seventh-Day Adventists came to the group in 1890, for a time confining itself to medical work. Owing to sickness among the missionaries this had to be given up. In 1908 a fresh start was made, and the mission now possesses a good church and a school, both near Apia.

The foregoing chapter is merely an indication from an historical standpoint of the important and useful work missionaries have done in Samoa. The civilisation of the group was originally directly due to them. "At present," says John Williams, writing in 1837, "the Samoan islanders have nothing to dispose of but a little cinet, and small quantities of tortoise-shell. In a few years, however, should our labours be successful, they will be taught to prepare hundreds of tons of cocoanut oil, and large quantities of arrow-root, annually; to manufacture sugar; to cultivate their land; and to supply our shipping with provisions. Thus, wherever the Missionary goes, new channels are cut for the streams of commerce; and to me it is most surprising that any individual at all interested in the commercial prosperity of his country can be

otherwise than a warm friend to the Missionary cause." The outlook of Williams has been justified. The missionaries were the pioneers in all native matters. In later days their influence with the natives has been enormous. They first reduced the spoken Samoan language to writing, and arranged its syntax; they taught the Samoans how to read and write their own language and gave to them a basis of literature in the translated English Bible—the native knowledge of which puts a government official completely to shame. They have preserved and sweetened in very great measure native ways of life and health. Almost the whole of the native education, even to-day, is received at their hands. Curiously enough their chief opposition and no small disparagement came from white residents. This depreciation has found its way into the minds of too many people outside; such absurd accounts of Samoa as that of a certain noble earl in the 'seventies have done much to increase it. The writer after no little research takes upon himself to say that nearly all this opprobrium has so far as Samoa is concerned been undeserved. It is true that the Samoans contribute large sums for missionary purposes, that many Samoans are sent as missionaries to other islands, that a considerable amount of the Samoan

contribution is expended outside the group. But who is the poorer? Not the trader who thereby receives increased supplies of native copra; and not the native who but healthily adds to his not over-charged activity. The white residents of the group long paraded themselves as a species of remarkable daredevils living as a Bohemian handful amid thousands of naked savages, and cheap novels added their contribution to the tale. Nothing could have been more absurd or further from the truth. From the 'thirties the white residents among the natives of this group were safer and better looked after than most of their calibre in large European cities, and the persons who made it possible for many of them to carry on their businesses of beggar-my-neighbour were undoubtedly those whom they persistently endeavoured to disparage. Happily most of this nonsense has long since passed away.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT, GOVERNMENT, AND TRADE. (1839-1869)

THE United States of America has done much to shape the destiny of Samoa, and it is an interesting historical fact that as long ago as 1839 exact scientific knowledge of the group was acquired by America. In that year the United States Exploring Expedition, commanded by Lieut. Charles Wilkes U.S.N., visited the group. The expedition comprised six ships specially equipped for the exploration and survey of the then unfrequented islands of Polynesia. An extensive account of the work performed by it was published, in which may be found details of the flora and fauna of Samoa, and the surveys of the Expedition are the first, and the foundation of practically all, Samoan land admeasurements. The expedition did other work. In the previous year Captain Drinkwater Bethune of H.M.S. *Conway* had agreed with the chiefs upon a code of commercial regulations, by which in consideration of payment

of harbour dues by vessels using the port, provision was made for the protection of foreign interests. Wilkes concluded a similar treaty in 1839. These regulations form the first formal recognition of the whites among the Samoans.

For the next twenty years white settlement in the group, and particularly at Apia, steadily increased. It was of all sorts and descriptions and of many nationalities, from Scandinavians to American negroes. The little community got along as best it could. "A sort of protective society," says the *Sydney Morning Herald* of June 23rd 1875, "organised after the fashion of a small republic" was established with consent of the chiefs "enforcing order among members of its own body by means of a code of laws." The old system of native government, at once patriarchal and communistic, continued outside of Apia with practically no variation of its ancient custom. The seat and authority of native government lay with the chiefs, of multifarious grades. Their positions were never absolutely in right of inheritance, but birth and marriage always carried great power. Their dignity was recognised by a special language—words applied to them and their possessions were not used in reference to commoners, and they had many privileges more material. The

chiefs acted as councillors and as magistrates to the particular community in which they resided. They were treated by their people with deference and respect and the moral influence exercised by them was great. But in all times known to Europeans, though possibly it had not always been so, the chiefly authority was curiously limited by the power of Samoan communism. Laws were hard to maintain; punishment for offences, unless the actual offence seemed bad in the eyes of the community, was difficult. The Samoans are a natural race, and rules as such have no great respect with them. As will be indicated in the succeeding chapter the native communities were basically independent of each other and were combined only for mutual protection or by reason of conquest. The territorial extent of any native government was therefore never definitely fixed, and was subject to such alteration as might arise from changes in leadership or from hostilities which were the natural outcome of personal or local ambition.

In 1848 native war broke out, and lasted some seven years, gradually involving the greater part of Upolu and Savaii. It was a continuation of old district quarrels during the then interregnum and as far as can be gathered the whites had no part in it, if we may exclude the sale of ancient

firearms. At its conclusion there was peace in Samoa for a few years.

In 1855 a constitution was drafted by Mr. Charles St. Julian, Chief Justice of Fiji prior to the annexation of that group to Great Britain in 1874, and this, says the *Herald* with some naïveté, "served afterwards as a basis for the constitution ultimately adopted by the chiefs and the people, native and foreign." Mr. Thomas Trood, for many years acting British Vice-Consul, who died at Apia in 1916, has described this Constitution in the year of his landing there, 1857. "In those days," says Trood "every man did what was right in his own eyes. There was no liquor licenses, or taxes of any description whatever; really a golden age; the Native Government existing more in name than in fact; *de jure* certainly but by no means *de facto*." Prior to the establishment, in 1880, of the Municipality of Apia, law and order among the whites were matters of personal choice, and for a further twenty years, as we shall see, they were little more.

In 1847 the first British Consular Agent was appointed in the person of George Pritchard, a missionary of the London Missionary Society who had been obliged to leave Tahiti in consequence of his resistance to the growing power of France

in the Society group. He was succeeded, in 1856, by his son, William T. Pritchard, afterwards transferred to Fiji, who has left an interesting contribution to Samoan literature.

In 1853 the first United States Commercial Agent to Samoa was appointed. On at least two occasions before 1865, during vacancies, the interests of the citizens of the Great Republic were looked after by the British Consul. Germany was first represented in 1861.

These Consuls had their own courts and exercised a certain control over their own countrymen. The consular decisions however lacked means of enforcement, and were in consequence obeyed within the jurisdiction of their own nationals only as inclination or sentiment might direct. And there were many whites who were either of no nationality or without representation. By the 'seventies a disorderly half-caste population had, in addition, arisen, who in the words of Consul Churchward "led the natives into all the vices of their beachcombing progenitors; the sale of liquors of the vilest and most maddening description was permitted without restriction, to natives and whites, amongst whom there were many men whose very existence depended upon disorder and who occupied their whole time in fostering it."

Late in 1856 an English trader, by name William Fox, was murdered by a young chief on Savaii. The act arose from a supposed insult, and for two years the offender went unpunished. The effect of this circumstance on the childish mind of the natives during this period was bad; their natural respect for the resident whites seems, from this and other causes which have been referred to, to have suffered considerably. But in 1859 H.M.S. *Cordelia*, Captain Vernon, paid a punitive visit to Savaii, demanded the surrender of the murderer, destroyed houses and canoes until he was delivered up, and then promptly strung him to the yardarm, returning his body for burial. The effect of the punishment was marked and it was lasting.

From the 'thirties onward trade had begun to establish itself. The stocks of earlier island traders were made up largely of calico prints, knives, axes, and, not unseldom and not always even secretly, arms and ammunition. In later years the customary stocks have been much extended by kegged and tinned meats, canned provisions, and also of baker's bread. The trade in munitions has of course long disappeared. The earlier exchange was cocoanut oil, the later copra. Before 1860 traders had built many stores in Apia and trading stations on Upolu and Savaii. Of

these, with a single exception to which reference will shortly be made, the very names are now all but forgotten. In the 'sixties came traders whose names are still in Samoa and whose lives are remembered there with respect. In 1861 Andrew and Charles McFarland commenced business, and in the same year Samuel Dean. In 1867 came Charles Netzler, in 1868 August Nelson. The sole export of the group at this time was cocoanut oil. In the foreign community the English traders outnumbered any other nationality. English was then, and has always since been, the language upon which the various nationals met. The customary specie currency until the late 'eighties was dollars of Central and South American countries, though other systems were also in use; towards the close of the 'eighties and until annexation in 1900 American and English money were largely employed.

About the year 1854 there arrived in Apia, from Valparaiso, Chili, one August Unshelm, representing the great Hamburg house of Johann Cesar Godeffroy und Sohn. Unshelm, a man of ability and tact, commenced trading in Matafele, Apia, in 1855, and in a few years he had instituted there a successful business in trade and oil, and had also established small substations at Vavau in

Tonga and at Fiji. In 1864 he had the misfortune to be lost at sea, in a hurricane in the Fijian Archipelago. At his death Theodor Weber, then a young man of twenty-seven, who had come to Samoa from the firm in Hamburg through its Valparaiso branch in 1861, took charge. Weber is the most remarkable man in the early history of Samoa. According to Robert Louis Stevenson, and indeed many others, his methods were a sort of skilful admixture of the tactics of Machiavel and a caveman, but however that may be they seem at least to have gained him, as Stevenson freely admits, the respect of the whole community, white and native. By the end of 1869, that is in little upward of five years, he had, as Trood says, "established a net-work of trading stations from New Britain on the north to Tongatabu on the south, including the Line Islands." In the choice of his traders he took no account of nationality. For those seeking employment he had, it is said, but three questions, and all required affirmative answers: "Can you speak the language?" "Can you live among natives without quarrelling with them?" "Can you keep your mouth shut?" Two points of advice were given: "Have a woman of your own, no matter what island you take her from; for a trader without a wife is in eternal hot

water;" and "Give no assistance to missionaries either by word or deed, beyond what is demanded of you by common humanity"—for the missionary taught the native that cloth or coin were better payment for produce than beads and tobacco.

From the standpoint of Samoa, Weber's greatest work was his persistent acquisition, on behalf of the firm which he represented, of tracts of land which at the time of his surrendering the management at Apia in 1888 and his death the following year at Hamburg at the age of fifty-two, amounted to seventy-five thousand acres, much of it of the cream of Upolu and therefore of all the Samoas. In the 'seventies Johann Cesar Godeffroy broke, and his firm collapsed, through foreign speculation, and their place in the South Seas is now occupied by the Hamburg Company which bears the wonderful name of the "Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg" and is known throughout the Western Pacific as the German Firm, or the D.H.&P.G.

Whatever his methods may have been it is impossible not to admire the youthful genius of Weber. He found himself in a community where conditions were about as loose as one could well imagine, where government was nominal, and in these small, often sordid, surroundings without

precedent and alone he constructed on wide lines and with sure knowledge the greatest commercial edifice in the South Seas. His results have never been faulty; his dealings have stood the test of time. The Land Commission of 1891-1894 threw many land claims out and reduced most, but it found nearly all Weber's purchases valid and based upon good consideration. His system of imported controlled labour is the only one that has so far been found entirely satisfactory; his plantations alone offer no interference with the ordinary life of the Samoans. He first in Samoa substituted copra for oil. His firm almost alone has succeeded in plantation matters. It is not sought to praise the man or his methods, but the house he builded is to-day his monument.

Weber was the first Imperial German Consul, appointed in 1870. From 1861 he had acted as Consul for Hamburg and the Norddeutscher Bund. He held office until 1872, and from 1875 until 1880, when he was succeeded by Captain Zembsch under circumstances which must have reference later.

In the year 1871 the British Consul at Apia reported to his Government regarding Samoa: "The imports are from the Australian Colonies and Hamburg; the greater part however are of British manufacture. About one third of the

exports are shipped to the colonies and go thence to England; two thirds to Hamburg direct, being shipped by the representatives of the German firm, Messrs Godeffroy and Sons. In 1858 the business of these islands was in the hands of two British merchants, one German house and one American. In 1870 six British merchants and traders were established in Apia, besides a number of small agencies; one German house, with several out-stations and agencies; and three American houses with their agencies.

From 1870 onward settlement continued, though, as has since always been the case with Samoa, many who came stayed for a few years only. Even by the 'fifties Apia, which in 1830 is said to have had not a single European resident, was one of the ports of the Pacific. By the early 'sixties it had, in virtue of its position as a port, become the centre of trade for the group. The natives followed the whites: about the year 1867 the seat of native government was transferred to Apia from Malie, the ancient home of the Malietoa family.

CHAPTER V.

WAR, AND AMERICAN ASSISTANCE.

(1869-1879)

IN 1869 native war broke out again, this time with more serious consequence, for it led to the direct intervention of foreigners in the native government of the group.

We have already seen in these pages that warfare had long been a matter of inherited privilege among the Samoans, and a recognised occupation of their young men. Of these earlier wars we know little with definiteness, but such legends as have survived indicate that for centuries some fighting could generally be found in the group for those so minded, either in local hostilities or in warfare with Fiji or Tonga. But, from 1829 on, the causes of wars are matters of history. We shall see how these at first concerned the natives only, and, later, drew into partisanship certain white residents of the group and from them their respective nationalities—British, American or German.

The whole of the native wars of which we have knowledge, and there were seven of them prior to

their ending after seventy years with the annexations of the group to Germany and America in 1900, arose from disputed successions to title. Samoa is a land of many ranks and high-sounding names, mainly hereditary, but subject to the restrictions imposed by the custom of Samoan communism. A single example will suffice to illustrate the circumscribed nature of a chieftain's office. A name carries with it the title to land of a certain compass. No important change in methods of cultivation can be made without consultation of the heads, no alienation of any part without agreement of the members, of the families interested. Breach of the conditions which the native mind understands to determine the office might even lead to the dismissal of the chief and the election of a successor. To-day every chief, however high, holds subject to the Government, which decides all disputes, but prior to annexation there was no real central authority and the only final arbitrament was war. The reader will understand that in seeking the causes of native warfare, reference is made to conditions which obtained prior to the 1900 annexations, since when of course there have been no native wars.

There is no royal house in Samoa. There are five great names, which carry allegiance from the inhabitants of the five political districts comprising

the whole group, and which, though hereditary, require confirmation from those districts, either by bestowal or by reason of conquest. The district of Atua, the eastern division of Upolu, to which are politically attached Tutuila and possibly Manu'a, is represented by the Tui-Atua; the district of Tuamasaga, the central division of Upolu, carries two names, the Tamasoalii and the Gatoa'itele; the district of Aana in the western division of Upolu is represented by the Tui-Aana; and the people of the whole of Savaii, with Manono and Apolima, form the constituency of the fifth, the Pule-o-Salafai. Now it might happen that more than one of these great names became united in one person; if all five so united the chief possessing them became over-lord or king, Tupu-o-Samoa. This does not seem to have been rare in the early history of Samoa, despite the fact that the political districts were jealous of each other's power.

The great war, in the course of which John Williams saw the desolation of Aana in 1830, was the result of the tyranny of a king, a priest of one of the war-gods of Manono who had assumed the vacant office of king and even contrived to have himself worshipped as a god. His cruel oppressions caused the people of Aana, who had first conferred

their title upon him, to rise and kill him. Manono and Savaii thereupon united to avenge the murder and were joined by Tuamasaga and Atua. Aana was defeated, and almost depopulated. Malietoa, a high chief living in Savaii, was then proclaimed king, the first as far as is known, of his family to acquire or claim the dignity. This was Malietoa Vaiinupo, the same Malietoa who in 1830 welcomed John Williams and Charles Barff to Savaii and who later was christened as David, Malietoa Tavita. He held the office for some ten years and died in 1841. Before his death he expressed the wish that as he had been the first of his family to obtain the title of king he should be the last to hold it, and he even set aside custom to the extent of endeavouring to apportion his various titles among those whom he wished to make his successors.

From this succession arose all the subsequent native conflicts, and the foreign influence brought to bear on the native disputes helped a peaceful issue but little. Tavita, in a manner of speaking, had his wish, for he was the last king of Samoa free from outside interference.

From 1841 to 1868 there was a long interregnum. The old quarrel between Aana and Manono continued, and, as we have seen, native war broke

out in 1848, lasting some seven years. The cause of the war was Manono's jealousy of the rising prosperity and power of Aana. A chief of Manono complained that he had been slighted when visiting Aana; it was resolved to re-establish the supremacy. In order to avoid the danger of a sudden attack from the sea, for which Manono was known to be preparing, the people of Aana withdrew to the friendly district of Atua. Aana was again devastated and plantations and houses destroyed. Then an expedition by Manono, Savaii and Tuamasaga against Atua, was undertaken and was defeated with heavy loss. A second raid was more successful but gave no permanent advantage. However, by the defection to Manono of two chieftains of the opposite parties, the supremacy was deemed to have been duly restored, and, the new musket warfare not being popular among the warriors of Savaii, the war drew to an end.

In 1860, Moli, elder son of Tavita and his natural successor, died, and the chiefs upon whom the choice of a successor depended were divided between Pe'a, son of Tavita's half-brother, and Laupepa, Moli's son. Laupepa being a youth, Pe'a was for a time permitted to assume control, both being allowed to use the name Malietoa and Pe'a taking the name of Malietoa Talavou.

Under this arrangement Samoa was governed until 1867. Then quarrels again broke out. Laupepa was proclaimed by Tuamasaga the one Malietoa and king. He took station at the east of Apia, controlling the town. Pe'a with his adherents then occupied Mulinu'u, the peninsula, easily defended from land attacks, which is situate at the western end of Apia Bay, and drew his support from the westward districts. For the best part of two years some thousands of men were under arms, and the rival forces bartered what they had to get food for their families and arms for themselves. Valuable land commenced to pass from native possession to the hands of the whites. Much chiefly discussion took place, but to no avail. Early in 1869 the rival forces moved close to each other, each making breastworks, and on the night of Good Friday of that year a battle broke out which roared round Apia for three days and nights. It should be said that the natives took every precaution to prevent harm happening to the white residents. A street fight would even stop to allow them to pass. After some seventy odd hours of fighting Laupepa gave ground, and retiring across the island entrenched at Safata. The struggle continued without definite result until August of 1870. In that month the British Consul, acting with missionaries of the London and Wesleyan missions, met

the chiefs of both parties and arranged a peace which however was only partially successful, hostilities going on until May 1873, when, a British and an American warship having arrived, a treaty of peace was signed between the opposing forces which gave Laupepa control.

The peace was merely a temporary one. Even at this stage native government under white approval was showing itself to be impossible. Throughout the 'seventies faction was rife among the natives, as represented by their chiefs, the two principal parties being the Taimua or Chiefs' Council, who held the leading power and therefore might be termed the Government, and the Puletua, or Opposition.

In 1872 the United States ship *Narragansett*, Commander Richard W. Meade, visited Pago Pago in the island of Tutuila and an agreement was concluded whereby Mauga, high chief of Tutuila, expressed a desire for the friendly protection of the United States, granting in return the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in Pago Pago harbour. The agreement was communicated to the United States Government, but, inasmuch as it was contrary to the foreign policy of that country, no action was taken on it.

In 1873 the United States Department of State sent one Colonel A. B. Steinberger as a special agent to report upon the group. The report was submitted in the latter part of 1873 and included letters from chiefs praying for the help of the President in their behalf. In 1875 Steinberger was again sent out, in U.S.S. *Tuscarora*, bearing a communication from the United States Government and presents for the chiefs. His official relations with the United States became discontinued when the letter and presents were delivered.

It was proposed that Steinberger should assist the Samoans towards good and stable government. The documents he brought are interesting. The first was a letter from Captain Henry Erbin, commanding U.S.S. *Tuscarora*, to the Taimua, telling them that Steinberger would remain among them to assist in organising their government as an independent nationality. Then followed a similar letter from Steinberger himself to the effect that he was among the chiefs, in accordance with the petitions sent during the previous four years, to help the Samoans to their independence. A draft "Declaration of Rights," drawn up in the name of the people of Samoa, and a "Constitution," consisting of thirty-two sections, providing for a limited monarchy with two Houses of Parliament

and outlining the relations of the people, white and brown, to the new government, formed the bulwark of the liberties of the future nation.

Steinberger became Premier, virtual Dictator, but his empire was short. With the natives he succeeded, but he fell foul of the consuls, and, on the representation of the American Consul, was deported to Fiji in the British gunboat *Barracouta*, Captain Stevens commanding. It is beyond doubt that Steinberger was guilty of irregular practices. He had made an arrangement with Weber whereby he was to further the business of Godeffroy & Son in consideration of payments by way of commission. He made laws, but apparently he did not always and everywhere observe them. He also, there is good authority for saying, unwarrantedly promised the Samoans the protection of the States. Captain Stevens was reprimanded in Fiji for his action, and Steinberger returning to the States commenced a suit for damages against the British Government which was settled by compromise. The American Consul at Apia was recalled. But Steinberger did not return to Samoa, and his government, the one and only Samoan experiment of native administration under the acknowledged direction of private white control, collapsed on his deportation. The venture can scarcely be said to have been a

credit to anyone, and it led directly to an incident in which a number of Englishmen lost their lives. On 13th March 1876 the zealous Captain Stevens took Laupepa, with a guard of honour from the ship, to Mulinu'u with the object of inducing the chiefs there assembled to accept Laupepa as king. The step showed a grave misunderstanding of the conditions under which the kingly office was granted; the chiefs resenting such a proposal under what appeared to them a puny show of force fired upon the guard, and, a miniature battle resulting, several sailors were killed and a number wounded, as well as toll being taken from the Samoans. Stevens was compelled to resign his commission, and, it is believed, eventually died in America a broken man. Samoa was acquiring a reputation for trouble.

It is illustrative of the then lack of authority in Apia that the only case of lynching known in the history of the group happened about this time. A man of mixed blood named Cochrane was hung for a bar-room murder by a posse of Apia residents in what is now the business centre of the capital. Cochrane was about to be shipped to California, ostensibly for trial, but it seemed unlikely that he would in that event meet with the only fitting punishment.

In 1877 the Puletua—the Native Opposition under Malietoa Laupepa—made two attempts to overcome the government of the Taimua. Malietoa was both times beaten. "Had it not," says Trood, "been for the intervention of H.B.M. Consul Liardet, to whose house and grounds the beaten Puletua party fled for shelter, they would all have been massacred by their opponents." That same year a deputation of the Taimua proceeded to Fiji and made an unsuccessful application for annexation to Great Britain. The Taimua then sent one Mamea, a chief of fine presence and a fluent speaker of English, as their ambassador to the United States with a view to his securing a treaty of protection from the government of that country. In this he was not successful, but early in 1878 he concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce at Washington, which gave to America the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago Pago and establishing a naval and coaling station there, and promised the good offices of America in the event of differences between Samoa and any government at peace with the United States. The treaty was ratified the same year by the United States, and, on behalf of Samoa, it is understood by Mamea himself in America. As a treaty it is extraordinary for two

reasons. It was Samoa's first treaty; it was also America's first departure into the realms of such foreign affairs as might lead to complications with other governments.

In 1879 there followed similar treaties between Germany and Samoa, and between England and Samoa, whereby Germany received the right to establish a coaling station at the harbour of Saluafata, and England a similar right in a place to be later determined.

Towards the end of 1879 a second politician arrived in Samoa from the States in the person of a certain General Bartlett. He joined the Tumua, a traditional league of chiefs then opposing Malietoa Talavou. "Shortly after his arrival" says Trood "Consul Theodor Weber and Captain Deinhardt, H.I.M.S. *Bismarck*, went in December 1879 with a body of armed men to Faleata where the Tumua were encamped, disarmed them, and then induced them to recognise Talavou as their king; a very dangerous expedition but successful; force here accomplishing what persuasion failed to do in the case of the *Barracouta* tragedy. A large barque having been chartered, the Tumua troops (from Savaii) were at once put on board of her and she was towed to Savaii by one of the German ships-of-war lying here at the time." The incident bore

the stamp not only of Germany but of the successful Weber. A government was again formed, this time by the advice of the three Consuls. Talavou became king, Laupepa vice-king, and the high chief Mataafa, who held the title Tui-Atua and of whom much must hereafter be said, Premier. Talavou died in 1880, Laupepa succeeding to the kingship.

It will be seen from the foregoing that foreign influences were already enveloping the little group. In the 'seventies American influence predominated. We shall see in the next chapter in what manner Germany sought to strengthen her influence during the succeeding decade. One direct alienation from native control must however have notice here. In August 1879 Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, then High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, visited Samoa as British Commissioner for the negotiation of the treaty regarding coaling-station rights. He recommended, and indeed effected, the creation in the Apia district of a municipality, to be neutral ground as far as native wars were concerned. The idea was supported by the German Consul and a Convention was accordingly agreed to by the native government and the Consuls of England and Germany. The American Consul also pro-

visionally agreed, but his action remained unconfirmed by the Senate. Under the Convention the government of Samoa surrendered jurisdiction over the town, harbour and neighbourhood of Apia, the control of this area being vested in a municipal board consisting of the three Consuls and their three several nominees. Regulations were empowered, as also the levying of rates and issue of licenses to cover the cost of municipal government and public works. The appointment of a magistrate and the definition of his jurisdiction were provided. One of the first regulations forbade the supply of liquor to natives. The sale of firearms to natives was also prohibited. Neither regulation, be it said, could be enforced absolutely, and stories of the evasions are amusing. But the establishment of the municipality was a boon to the whites and natives alike. The punishment of offenders against the regulations, many of which are still in force, went far to remove the unfairness, to say nothing of the stigma, of the lawlessness which previously had always been Apia's. There were protests and opposition but the regulations held and the law at last went in the port.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TROUBLous 'EIGHTIES.

(1880-1889)

IT could scarcely be expected that, where native government controlled the natives alone, the representatives in Samoa of the three Great Powers interested should continue to dwell as the Lotophagi the white inhabitants of these isles are generally supposed to be. When also the predilection of Germany for intrigue and the effects upon exotic whites of the isolation of Samoa and the vitiating air of Apia are considered, the maintenance of peace will be understood to have been almost a sorry impossibility. We have seen that England in 1877 and America in 1878 refused annexation. The place was not worth the complications—but none of the three Powers wanted either of the others to have it. We have seen how errors and questionable conduct attended in the 'seventies the unauthorised acts of Americans and Englishmen. While these persons pursued the semblance and gleam of authority, Weber was quietly and successfully extending and consolidating. As the 'eighties opened but one element was

lacking to set the little pot boiling over, and that element was now furnished from the commercial advantage gained in the 'seventies by Germany, or, let us say, by Germany's protégé in the group, the German Firm, an advantage purely local which German representatives were determined not only to protect but to secure by adding to it a political supremacy. That such an ambition should bring them into conflict with the representation of England and America, both of which countries had long had interests in the group, as England had over most of the Pacific, was inevitable, but the ambition was pressed with design and disregard, and concerning the natives with a curious want of understanding and feeling. With what success?

We have seen that on Talavou's death in 1880 Laupepa became king. The succession was not undisturbed, and there was further native fighting. In March, 1881, Laupepa received formal salutes from foreign men-of-war, and was generally looked upon as supreme. But he was not so. The high chief Tamasese held the title Tui-Aana; Mataafa was Tui-Atua. In April representatives of these two districts met and resolved upon an alternate monarchy of two years—Tamasese first, then Mataafa. Laupepa held the other three names. Hostilities were about to commence when on the

arrival of the U.S.S. *Lackawanna* in July, 1881, a peace was made at the instigation of the Consuls, which, with all its disregard of native custom, lasted some four years. Under it Laupepa continued as king, Tamasese as vice-king.

The characters of the three rival chiefs differed more than is usual among Samoans of rank. Laupepa was something of a student. He was undesirous of kingship, and naturally almost unfitted for the turbulence that, for the thirty years of his adult life which preceded his death in 1898, accompanied his uncertain throne. "I found him," says Consul Churchward writing of October 1881, "to be an intellectual and pleasant looking man of about forty years of age, with a very agreeable and subdued manner of address, without the slightest suggestion of the savage about him. He also gave me the idea of a studious man, in which, as I afterwards found out, I was not mistaken." Educated at the Malua Institute of the London Missionary Society, Laupepa had wished to take up mission work, but his birth and the claims of his people prevented it. Mataafa, on the other hand, was unusually active and astute, and indeed possessed of considerable capacity and ambition. Tamasese appears rather as a nonentity.

The peace was disturbed and finally broken by Germany. From 1875 to 1880 Weber had

acted as Imperial German Consul. In the latter year he was succeeded in this Imperial appointment by Captain Zembsch, Weber of course still remaining at the head agency of the Firm in Apia. Zembsch, Stevenson tells us, was long remembered in Samoa as "the gentleman who acted justly." He had the hardihood to act on a number of occasions in a manner contrary to the interests of the Firm. One can imagine how Weber plotted for his removal. Be that as it may, in 1883 Zembsch was recalled, and was succeeded by Dr. Stuebel. Thenceforward the German Consulate and the German Firm worked loyally together for the advancement of the good German interests of the Firm.

The pressure on King Malietoa Laupepa was increased. In 1881 the German Consulate had supported Tamasese, and his then election as king had been actually initiated aboard a German warship at Saluafata. Now alleged thefts by Samoans from the Firm's plantations furnished cause for complaint against Laupepa. These thefts have always occurred. They occur to-day, plentifully. They are no offence in the eyes of the communistic Samoans, who regard without comprehension the collection of so much food, and they form a practice almost impossible to repress. In 1883 Stuebel

extorted a Convention from the king whereby Samoans convicted of offences against German subjects were to be imprisoned in the Firm's private gaol. The following year His Majesty was again browbeaten and bullied, his very deliberations treated as insults, and the intervention of two German ships of war lying in Apia hinted. The demands this time were brutal to the point of injudiciousness, but they were conceded, and a fresh agreement was signed by the king. In their troubles Laupepa and Tamasese came together. In November, 1884, they secretly sent, through New Zealand, a Petition praying for annexation by Great Britain. The previous year Laupepa had directly petitioned Great Britain to annex, whereupon the German Consul had procured a similar petition to Germany. The prayer of the 1884 petition, be it said, was refused, but negotiation continued through New Zealand until 1886, when by a delimitation treaty between England and Germany it was agreed that Samoa, as well as Tonga and certain other groups, be declared neutral territory. It is yet within the memory of many how high feeling ran in the Colonies in that year upon French and German annexations in the Pacific. And in a rather remarkable despatch from Prince Bismarck to the American Government dated 18th November, 1887, it is declared that, especially in the case

of Samoa, "the covetousness repeatedly shown by New Zealanders of obtaining possession of these islands" had made it much more difficult for England to act with friendship towards Germany. "Nevertheless we are there in much better relations to England than to America"!

When Stuebel and Weber learnt of the address to Great Britain, which they did some days later, a native selling them a copy of it, the fat was in the fire. Weber was immediately active. Laupepa and Tamasese were again threatened; Tamasese was advised to cut his Malietoan friendship and raise the standard of a separate government, which, in January 1885, he proceeded to do at Leulumoega, Weber then supplying him with arms. As Germany's champion it must be confessed Tamasese appears heavily indifferent. Rumours of intended annexation by Germany were rife in the group throughout the latter part of 1885. The unfortunate Laupepa was further harried. He was refused a bodyguard, disallowed his Samoan meetings, even forbidden to play cricket, and then, on a land claim of the Firm's, evicted from Mulinu'u, the seat of his government. On his hoisting his royal and national flag in Apia, Stuebel himself, with a shore party from a German cruiser had it brought down. The German flag was hoisted on

Mulinu'u; marines occupied the place and built a fort there. In 1886 a German squadron of three ships arriving at Apia ignored the king, but Admiral and Consul visited Tamasese and assured him of Imperial recognition.

What, it may be asked, were the representatives of England and America doing in the midst of all this forcefulness? The only possible answer is that they were pursuing a regular course, which, if it bore the marks of ineptitude, at least had the merit of decency. They protested repeatedly to the German Consul. They counselled Laupepa to wait, and so in the meantime preserve the peace, an attitude His Majesty was eminently fitted to take up. In the meantime they reported matters to their governments. The American Consul, at the request of the king, somewhat hastily granted him the protection of the States, and even went as far as to protect the Samoan flag at his Consulate by hoisting over it the Stars and Stripes. The British Consul Churchward in 1887 published an interesting account of his four years' sojourn in Samoa, which officially terminated in October, 1885. His conduct, he tells us, "did not appear to please the powers that were, for it happened that many hints I had received from the Germans to the effect that if I did not cease to oppose them in their native intrigues my relief would be effected—warnings

that I could not bring myself to believe had any official significance—did prove true, and my official reign in Samoa was brought to an end."

Well, the communications of the British and American Consuls reached their governments. The subsequent steps are described with academic fairness in the American official report:

"The situation thus created seemed to require the discharge by the United States of its obligation under the treaty of 1878, to employ its good offices in behalf of the Samoan Government. The phrase "good offices" is necessarily vague, and the circumstances show that it was not inserted in the treaty of 1878 for the purpose of involving the United States in the responsibilities of a protectorate. The inference is quite the reverse. But the situation existing in 1885 presented, as clearly as any situation could present, an occasion for the employment of good offices. Our Ministers at London and Berlin were, therefore, instructed to say that the claim of an American protectorate over Samoa by the United States Consul at Apia was wholly unauthorised and disapproved, no protectorate by any foreign power being desired; and to suggest that the British and German Ministers at Washington be instructed to confer with the Secretary of State with a view to the establishment of order. This suggestion was accepted with the modification

that, before the conference was held, each of the three governments should send an agent to Samoa to investigate and report upon the condition of affairs in the islands. This preliminary having been accomplished, a conference was held in Washington in June and July, 1887, between the Secretary of State and the British and German Ministers. It was adjourned on the 26th of July, by unanimous consent, till the autumn in order that members might consult their respective Governments with a view to reconciling certain divergencies of view which the discussions had disclosed. The German Government proposed in the conference a plan to commit the practical control of Samoan affairs to a single foreign official, called an adviser to the king, and to be appointed by the power having the preponderance of commercial interests. The plan proposed by the United States was to commit the administration of the laws to an executive council, to be composed of the Samoan king and vice-king and three foreigners, one of whom should be designated by each of the Treaty Powers, but who should hold their commissions and receive their compensation from the native government, so as to be independent of the influence and control of the Powers designating them. It was also proposed that any arrangement that might be devised should

be embodied by the Powers in identic, but several and independent, treaties with Samoa. Germany objected to the plan of the United States on the ground that it did not promise a solution of existing difficulties, which were largely due to rival foreign interests. *The British Minister supported the German Minister and, incidentally, the German plan.*"

The italics are introduced. In view of after events the "plan" which the British Minister incidentally supported is clear. Germany meant to push herself to a primary position among the three Powers so far as the scene of this history is concerned. The curious fact is that Britain thenceforward was either lukewarm or materially assisted her. That Britain should not have observed the United States proposal until a better solution might be offered after the adjournment is explicable only by the exigencies of matters nearer home. The conference was destined never to sit again.

In the meantime in Samoa matters went actively. The convention, as has been said, adjourned on 26th July, 1887. By 24th August of that year less than one month after the adjournment, Samoa was virtually in the possession of Germany. Two alleged causes of German complaint led up to this result; the introduction of a political agent and of four German warships made it practicable.

The first of the causes cannot in any event be considered as more than an irritant. In January, 1887, an embassy had arrived in Samoa from Hawaii, at this time also a native kingdom, larger but no less farcical, governmentally, than Samoa. Amid native festivity a treaty of confederation was in February of that year signed between the two nations. Germany in Samoa was pained; it was an insult to the greatness of the Fatherland that such a large independence should be shown. The pain was worse when Germany discovered that Tama-sese, ponderously feeling the indignity of Germany's putting him up as a puppet king, entered into a secret communication with the Hawaiian embassy, and was considering leaving Samoa for their romantic land. The Germans threatened war if the embassy continued its to them unwelcome presence, and the Hawaiian diplomats accordingly sailed away, first to Pago Pago where the crew bartered their muskets for pigs and the captain the ship's service of plate for a like consideration, and thence to their own country, where they found as the result of a revolution their government defeated and their Prime Minister, an adventurer called Gibson, in gaol. Thus the first ground of German displeasure was removed.

The second cause was even more trivial. It arose from a supposed insult to the German

Emperor during a bar-room affray; by no stretch of imagination could any blame for it be attached to Laupepa.

In the early months of 1887 there had arrived in Samoa one Eugen Brandeis, a Bavarian ex-captain of artillery, "of a romantic and adventurous character." The exact method of his appointment to Samoa belongs to the secret history of the German Firm. He first appeared as a clerk of the Firm at Apia, later as their special agent at Tamasese's headquarters, Leulumoega. There he started up drilling troops and improving fortifications. Laupepa complained to the German Consul, who promptly denied all knowledge. The introduction of Brandeis much strengthened the hands of Laupepa's opponent, but it also flagrantly strengthened the difficult cause and purposes of Germany in Samoa.

In the light of after events the scheme is more than apparent. On the 19th of August a German squadron of four ships of war entered Apia Harbour; Brandeis was at Leulumoega; the island steamer had left for Sydney, and thus for some weeks Samoa was practically cut off from the outer world; and on the 23rd an absurd ultimatum from the German Consul reached the king. It demanded reparation for wrongs alleged to have been

committed by Laupepa or his people, every one of which antedated the Washington conference. In respect to the insult to the Kaiser one thousand dollars and a public apology were demanded; for thefts from German plantations during the past four years an immediate payment of twelve thousand dollars. The conclusion of the Consul's missive was delicate—it is Stevenson's translation that is quoted: "It is my opinion" he addressed His Majesty "that there is nothing just or correct in Samoa while you are at the head of the government." Laupepa called his Council, and though many were for defiance, the King's answer begged delay until the 27th.

Early next morning seven hundred men and six guns were landed from the warships, the government building was seized and the German colours hoisted. The king and his chiefs had meantime fled. German marines searched the town for the fugitives irrespective of the property rights of other nationalities. And the next day Tamasese and Brandeis were installed on Mulinu'u, the former given a salute of twenty-one guns from the ships and marched through the town with a German guard of honour.

Where again, it will be asked, were the Consuls of England and America? Again, be it said, these

gentlemen pursued a regular course. In reply to the German Consul's demonstration they proclaimed their recognition of Malietoa Laupepa and advised the followers of the latter to remain quiet and do nothing. Laupepa sent to Mataafa who endeavoured to arrange a settlement, first with Tamasese, then on board the German ships. But the Germans were obdurate. Laupepa was to give himself up, or "great sorrows must befall his country"—a curt reference to the guns of the ships. Whatever deficiencies there may have been in Laupepa's character, selfishness was never one of them. Indeed it rarely is of any Samoan. Against the wishes of many of his followers he surrendered, conscious that this meant exile from the only land he had known. His farewell to his people is famous, for truth and simplicity in it go naked: "To all Samoa. On account of my great love to my country and my great affection to all Samoa, this is the reason that I deliver up my body to the German Government. That Government may do as they wish to me. The reason of this is because I do not desire that the blood of Samoa shall be spilt for me again. But I do not know what is my offence which has caused their anger to me and to my country. Tuamasaga, farewell! Manono and family, farewell! So, also, Salafai, Tutuila, Aana

and Atua, farewell! If we do not again see one another in this world, pray that we may be again together above. May you be blest. I am, Malietoa, the King."

Not less simply and very fully he presented his case in a lengthy communication to the two Consuls whose negative support had in no small degree been the source of his downfall. "I desire" he concluded to each of them "to remind you of the promises so frequently made by your Government, and trust that you will cause these assurances to come to pass in order that the lives and liberties of my people may be respected. I desire to make known to you this. I fear, indeed, that Germany will desire to compel me, as they are now making my people, to sign papers acknowledging Tamasese as king. If I write my name on paper it will be under compulsion, and to avoid war being made on my people by the German forces."

He was exiled for a little short of two years, first to the Cameroons, then to Germany, then for a longer period at Jaluit in the Marshall Group. Stevenson tells the story as he received it from Laupepa himself. It is a shocking illustration of the lack of decency, even of humour, that is so particularly Germany's when ambition drives her to the exercise of cruelty.

For a further year the oppressions continued. Tamasese was established as king at Mulinu'u. Brandeis became premier. The native unrest, though quiescent, steadily increased and it was heightened by the assumption by Tamasese, who was rightly Tui-Aana, of the two great names Tui-Atua and Malietoa. On the last days of August 1888 a rebellion broke out at the back of Apia which was quelled by the troops of Brandeis and Tamasese; the island of Manono was bombarded by the German gunboat *Adler*; the lines of the Mulinu'u garrison were extended through Apia and through Matautu, on the eastern side of the bay.

By September 9th the rebellion had flared into war. On that day Mataafa was crowned king at Faleula, and he promptly gathered and led his forces against those of Tamasese at Matautu, driving them before him and penning them back to the Mulinu'u peninsula. The situation here became impossible for them, partly owing to the arrival of two British ships of war and partly to the devices of the Commander of a United States gunboat who took impish delight in the situation. These ships dominated the peninsula, and Tamasese and Brandeis withdrew by night to a position near Laulii, some six miles east of Apia.

Mataafa followed them, and for some days the rival forces faced each other across a ravine. Skirmishes ensued with no definite result. Then Germany attempted further to force matters. A letter to Mataafa threatened the intervention of a man-of-war if he did not withdraw from Laulii. But Mataafa sent the contents of the letter to the English and American Consuls, and for once at least these gentlemen were ready for anything. At daybreak of the morning of 15th November 1888 three ships of war of the three Great Powers, the German leading, swung out of Apia harbour for Laulii. Each carried its Consul. War—international war—hung in the balance, for there is little doubt had the German ship opened fire on the shore, the American ship would have "let her have it." Mr. William Blacklock, now of Sydney, was then acting as American Consul and he verifies this view. But the German Consul contented himself with a visit ashore and by noon the three ships had returned to Apia. The bluff had been called. The incident went far to lessen the prestige of Germany.

The succeeding incident went further. On 11th December Mataafa received a large supply of cartridges which were smuggled into the island by a British ship. This brought bitter complaint from Brandeis to his Consul. There were further causes

for soreness: thefts from German plantations continued; a horse was stolen from the stable of the German Consulate; there was open brawling in Apia between half-castes and German sailors. Only those who have lived in small tropical places know the extreme irritation that such occurrences cause. It was felt by the representatives of Germany that something must be done.

The expedient resolved upon was simple but ill-advised. Both native parties were to be disarmed and to return to their homes. An order accordingly went forth from the *de facto* Government of Tamasese, but it was obeyed by neither party. It is understood that an arrangement was then come to by the supporters of Tamasese, German as well as native, whereby an attack was to be made on the Mataafan forces for the purpose of disarming them. Tamasese was to bring down native troops, the warships were to supply landing parties; the two forces were to junction at Vailele, a plantation of the German Firm adjoining the native village of Fagalei, in possession of Mataafa's troops, and lying midway between Tamasese's base and Apia. The strategy was essentially one for a daylight attack so far as the white forces were concerned. It was planned for daybreak on the morning of 18th December, and the ship's part of it

was then embarked upon. But Tamasese failed to arrive, and the crews to the number of about one hundred and fifty were so misguided as to attempt the expedition by themselves. The adventure was bravely carried. Two landings were effected and the forces junctioned at the plantation, but with some loss. The fight centred round the homestead, and the little garrison, losing heavily, was threatened with extinction from thousands of combatants when the Samoans withdrew. The cause of the withdrawal is uncertain. A German warship had entered the bay and commenced shelling the adjacent villages; it is said also that Mataafa held his hand. Be this as it may, two lieutenants and fourteen men had been done to death and some forty men lay wounded, and as soon as the conflict ceased the party was quickly and without further loss returned to the ship. The mana of Germany was for the time being dashed and broken. Her schemes had resulted only in disaster, even in shame.

Still the bluster of the German Consul continued; still the fortunes of the German side declined. The natives' positions were again bombarded; Tamasese steadily lost support; Brandeis prepared to leave Samoa, which he did early in 1889. In January of that year the German Consul proclaimed

martial law in Samoa, to which the English Consul entered protest. An Englishman was arrested, another forestalled arrest by surrendering himself. At last, on February 12th, the whole business was broken up by the iron hand of Bismarck who in an emphatic despatch disapproved of his Consul's usurpation of jurisdiction over foreigners. In the same month martial law was terminated.

No doubt German intrigue would have ended here with results no worse than the unfortunate affair at Vailele, but matters had gone too far. The attention of England and America had been roused. In the States particularly feeling ran high. Warships began to arrive at Apia, until before March was half-way gone there were seven ships of war as well as two merchant vessels and eleven coasters crowded into the tiny harbour—more it may be thought than ever before or since, though in August of 1914 Apia saw outside its roads a much sterner and more powerful display of naval strength. And then, suddenly, there fell upon the little world gathered there a disaster the magnitude of which filled three great nations with dismay and pity, and with no small wonder that so much trouble could arise in a place of such little worth. The "hurricane" of 1889 remains by far the most famous of any episode in Samoa's chequered

career. Many pens, one of them of the ablest of our time, have described it. And it gave to Apia Harbour a name for evil in the late months of summer which sailors know the world over.

The evil was not unknown, even in 1889. The natives of course had long known of the "knock-down storms." Captain John Erskine R.N., in his Journal published in 1853, mentions two which did considerable damage in 1848 and 1850. In March of 1883 an unusually violent storm had stripped the little harbour almost bare—several big sailers and all save one of the mosquito fleet then in the port going awrack, great damage being done to trees and buildings ashore, and several lives lost. As late as February of 1889 three vessels had been driven aground, and on the 7th of March the fated warships had been compelled to steam at their anchors to prevent dragging in a gale.

A glance at a chart will discover to the reader the shape of the anchorages afforded by the reefs which bound the coast of the wide and open bay of Apia. During much of the year, and while the easterly trade winds blow, these anchorages are secure enough, though the holding ground is nowhere too good. But from December until April the wind will set upon occasion in the north and north-west, sometimes merely with uncertainty and

short and squally boisterousness, at others with a long, driving, rain-bringing gale. The wind does not rise to hurricane pitch; it seldom even attains a great velocity; and damage to the exposed and flimsy buildings on the beach is rare. But the sea piles up in the long jar-shaped haven, and it lifts and buffets the ships at their anchors till dragging becomes unavoidable, and it breaks and runs upon the jagged reefs with a tumult that spells terror and destruction for the people of a stricken ship. The storm comes suddenly, but a rapidly falling glass gives in almost all cases ample notice of its arrival.

The seven ships of war comprised three Americans, the *Trenton*, frigate cruiser and flagship of the squadron carrying Rear-Admiral Kimberley, the corvette *Vandalia* and the sloop *Nipsic*; three Germans, the corvette *Olga*, and the gunboats *Adler* and *Eber*; and one Englishman, the third-class cruiser *Calliope*. They carried an aggregate of upward of fifteen hundred men of whom about fifty were ashore.

Early in the afternoon of Friday the 15th of March, the barometer had fallen to 28.95, which was a plain mandate to the ships to steam out from the coming peril. But such were their strained relations, such their individual pride, that none would

go; each apparently was waiting for the other to lead the way. The afternoon was spent in making the ships as snug and safe as possible, and full steam was fired for. By nightfall the storm had commenced, and throughout the hours of darkness it continued with increasing violence. When morning broke the crisis was plain to those watching from the shore; fearful seas were driving up the harbour, but all ships save one had so far weathered the gale. Of the *Eber* nothing could be seen. A few days before she had received injuries to her propellor and no doubt this prevented her from keeping way on her anchor. Shortly before daybreak she had dragged down so far that she had struck the mushroom edge of the shore reef, broke, and in a few minutes sunk beneath it. And of her whole ship's company only one officer and four men reached the beach alive.

In such a sea the fortune of each vessel needs lay with herself; to each there was a separate battle to be fought; for each that battle was against overwhelming odds. Of the six ships seen fighting the storm on the morning of the sixteenth, three had suffered injury. Just before daybreak the *Adler* had struck into the *Olga*, carrying away her own bowsprit and holing the *Olga*, luckily above the water-line. The *Nipsic* had lost her funnel. Throughout the whole of the sixteenth the gale

continued, unabated until nightfall, and all that day the crews of the ships fought with the storm, their lives as a stake. One by one the ships were forced from their anchorages, either by seas or by danger of collision. The first to go was the *Nipsic*, which was fortunate enough to avoid the reef and take ground on a shingle beach. There with the help of Samoans her crew got ashore, but with the loss of seven lives. She was afterwards refloated and taken to Honolulu.

She was followed by the *Adler*, which was not so lucky. Finding himself faced with the shore reef and a similar fate to that of the *Eber*, the German captain, it is said, resolved upon an extraordinary expedient. He waited for a huge sea, slipped his mooring chains as he met it, and, riding upon its crest, lifted his ship clear over the reef-edge, settling her with a crash well in on the shallow platform of the reef. Fortunately, as she broke, her stern portion heeled towards the shore and a number of her crew escaped by reason of the shelter of her hull. But many also were compelled to cling to her; running seas upon the reef made rescue impossible that day, though it was valiantly attempted chiefly by Samoans; and by the following morning twenty had been lost, some when the vessel broke upon the reef, but most, it is believed,

from exposure. There on the little calm lagoon the *Adler* lies broken to this day, perhaps the most noticeable feature of the harbour view, her ribs arust, her iron decks growing grass, a grim reminder of the strength of the seas that beat upon the spot nearly thirty years ago.

There were now bunched within the inner harbour three ships, the *Vandalia*, the *Calliope* and the *Olga*. A little before nine o'clock the *Vandalia* drove down on the *Calliope*, catching her stern beneath the bowsprit of the British ship and bursting it upward as she lifted to the sea. To avoid immediate collision the *Calliope* reversed her engines until she nearly touched the shore reef. Doom here almost encircled her; in the hot moment of action it seemed but one chance of safety remained. She was too heavy a ship to follow the example of the *Adler*; she must thread her way to the open sea. She was a fairly new ship, but not of exceptional power, and the odds were long. Captain Kane took the chance.

He swung her to starboard of the *Vandalia*, and slipped his ship's last anchor of four. And then he put her nose to the sea, calling for every pound of steam that the good New Zealand Westport coal he carried could give him under forced draught. Those who watched from the shore were thrilled

at the manoeuvre; the issue of it hung doubtful for a time. As the cruiser rose to the piled-up seas her whole deck and houses from stern to stem were visible, as she sank she seemed buried in sea and scud. Gradually, it is said at first quite imperceptibly, the ship crept to the harbour mouth where a final obstruction lay in the plunging *Trenton*. Between flagship and reef there were a few yards of tumultuous water, but beyond was clear sea and security. Kane's story is brief: "I sheered close past the *Trenton*'s stern" he says "our foreyard actually passing over her quarter as she rolled. We came up to the windward in splendid style, clearing the reef by fifty yards, and then stood right out to sea. As we passed the *Trenton* all her officers and crew, who were on deck, gave us a ringing cheer, which was heartily returned by us. We were much affected by that proof of goodwill from another ship at a time when they might well have been thinking about themselves alone. We noticed that her rudder was broken and her screw not revolving."

The *Calliope*, then, got clear away, and she returned only when the storm had subsided. Shortly after she had started on her perilous enterprise, the *Vandalia*'s captain, despairing of being able to longer ride at safety, attempted to beach her near the *Nipsic*. Misfortune attended the attempt, the ship striking the eastern corner of the inner reef but

settling in fairly shallow water. Many of her crew perished in an endeavour to get a line ashore, including her captain, and the losses of this ship were outnumbered only in the case of the *Eber*. The hull was soon awash, and the crew were eventually compelled to seek safety in the rigging.

Meanwhile the *Trenton*, as Kane, "not thinking about themselves alone" had noted in passing, had lost her rudder and her wheel, her engines were flooded and her fires extinguished. Early in the afternoon she parted her moorings, and, despite efforts to keep her up to the wind, she drifted wildly in the direction of the *Olga* with which, after some skilful avoidance on the *Olga*'s part, she collided. The *Olga*'s captain immediately slipped his moorings and going full steam ahead beached his ship off Matautu in the safety of comparatively smooth water. She was subsequently refloated.

The *Trenton*, though unmanageable, had almost equally good fortune. She eddied down past the stranded *Nipsic* in the direction of the *Vandalia*, partially sunk a few yards from the shore. Luckily as darkness was falling she here brought up so that ropes were passed, and, before the two ships struck, the men from the *Vandalia*'s tops, which afterwards fell with the collision, had been transferred to the larger ship. Then the *Trenton* settled alongside and stayed so all night, partly piling up on the

Vandalia and herself awash below her top deck. But, of all her crew of four hundred and thirty, only one died and he by the accident of a falling block.

The harbour was now clear of ships, and the sole anxiety the work of rescue. This was still impossible. All through the night that followed, the rain and wind continued to beat upon the survivors clinging to the wrecks, and those ashore sat helpless. But before dawn of Sunday the 17th the gale had moderated and the seas were falling. Along the strand of Apia wreckage was strewn and floating, far and near. The Samoans now showed their native generosity. They were, many of them, at war with Germany; here was devastation visited upon their foes, and that without their taking even a part. But the disaster inevitably moved their ready sympathies. Throughout the morning of the 17th they zealously and courageously worked under the leadership of Seumanu, chief of Apia, in getting lines to the ships for the purposes of communication and of rescue. And further, they did no pillage, a thing that is probably most easily explained by the chiefs putting a ban upon the harvest of the wrecks. The United States was lavish in presents in recognition of the services to her seamen. Germany, it is stated, paid three dollars for each German saved.

One hundred and forty-five officers and men perished as a result of the wrecking of the six warships, and five lives were lost from the merchant vessels, of all of which only one small schooner escaped.

The weight of the disaster was of course especially felt in America and Germany. But British regret was nevertheless genuine and deep, and there was no or little rejoicing at the good fortune of the *Calliope*. The Queen expressed her sympathy to President Harrison. The Government of New Zealand offered to place the steamer *Hinemoa* at the disposal of Admiral Kimberly. H.M.S. *Rapid* was sent to Samoa. And when Count Herbert Bismarck interviewed Lord Salisbury in London the most perfect agreement in colonial matters was announced.

The event nevertheless brought great changes in the political affairs and situation of Samoa. German Nationalists might pass affirmations that the calamity must not cool German colonial ardour, but its occurrence clearly cut level to the roots the unlovely growth which German ambition in Samoa was rearing. We shall see in the next chapter that the plant was to grow again, though perhaps more healthily, during the decade and the new era which followed.

CHAPTER VII.

SAMOA UNDER THE BERLIN GENERAL ACT.

(1889-1899)

THE period of Samoan history which now claims attention differs entirely from its predecessor. German tactics had failed. On all sides, both in Europe and in Samoa, there was a great desire to settle differences and bring peace to the vexed islands. Kimberley in fact set about it a few days after the storm and it is to his credit and that of his Vice-Consul Blacklock that a truce was effected between the rival native forces. They visited Tamasese at his camp and practically arranged for a cessation of hostilities.

Matters went quietly at Apia throughout the rest of 1889, though not without some bickering. On August 11th Laupepa was returned by German gunboat from the Marshalls, landed at Apia and turned adrift to his own devices. But this led to no native confusion. Laupepa and the chiefs who had shared his exile were that day met by Mataafa, and Malietoa and Mataafa like two children walked

hand in hand to the house of a British trader by whom they had been invited to dine. Thereafter at least for a time, they dwelt together in peace.

But the relation between the two, if beautiful, was in no way secure. Mataafa had acted practically in the role of general for Laupepa, whose rank was undoubtedly higher. Laupepa had no personal love for the kingship; Mataafa was at once bold and ambitious. In November Malietoa abdicated in favour of his champion, but the abdication does not seem to have been quite accepted, for Laupepa continued as king Mataafa retaining much of the power.

In the meantime the three Powers had also had more than enough of Samoan troubles. At the invitation of Germany it was resolved to recommence in Berlin the conference begun at Washington in June 1887. By 14th June 1889 the conference had concluded its labours in an important treaty which is intituled "The Final Act of The Berlin Conference on Samoan Affairs," and is more usually known in the group as "The Berlin General Act."

The scope of the Act is extensive, for it was meant to afford a complete solution of existing difficulties. As an immediate measure, it declared the neutrality and independence of Samoa and

"the free right of the natives to elect their Chief or King, and to choose their form of government according to their own laws and customs," and settled the temporary recognition of Malietoa Laupepa as king in accordance with the Lackawanna treaty of July 1881 until the three Powers should by common accord otherwise declare and his successor be duly elected according to the laws and customs of Samoa. It then proceeded to provide a form of government on somewhat novel lines.

It established a Supreme Court with a jurisdiction of all future questions, civil or criminal, arising under the detailed jurisdiction conferred by the Act, which particularly included disputes respecting the rightful election or appointment of the king and differences between a treaty power and the government of Samoa. The Court was to be under the presidency of a Chief Justice, this officer to be named by agreement of the three Treaty Powers, or, failing their agreement, by the King of Sweden and Norway. The condition of the appointment was that "he shall be learned in law and equity, of mature years, and of good repute for his sense of honour, impartiality and justice": a wide but essential qualification. His decision on questions within his jurisdiction was to be final. He also had the power of recommending

laws to the Government for the promotion of good order and collection of taxes outside the Municipal District.

It wisely endeavoured to reasonably preserve to the natives the lands to which they were rightly entitled. To this end it prohibited all future alienations of land to foreigners except the sale or lease of lands within the municipality when approved by the Chief Justice and the proper lease for a term not exceeding forty years of surplus agricultural lands when approved by the chief executive authority and by the Chief Justice.

There being many outstanding land claims by foreigners, the Act provided machinery for the settlement of these and of all titles to lands of foreigners. It advised the appointment of a Commission, to consist of three nominees of the three Treaty Powers and a Natives' Advocate to be appointed by the King with the approval of the Chief Justice. The duty of the Commission was to investigate within two years all claims of foreigners to lands howsoever acquired and to report to the Court thereon, the Court to decide disputed claims and to make provision for a complete registry of all valid titles to lands owned by foreigners. Claims not presented within the prescribed times were barred.

The Act also provided for the creation of a Municipal District of Apia and its local administration by a Municipal Council consisting of six elected local members and a foreign President appointed under the provisions of the Act. The President had large administrative powers. A municipal magistrate with a limited jurisdiction was also provided for.

Finally the Act made provision for taxation and revenue, and expressly prohibited the sale of arms, ammunition and intoxicating liquor to the natives. •

For ten years the Act formed the constitution of Samoa and the patience of the reader has in the above lengthy statement of its terms been taxed on that ground alone. Instructions reached the Consuls at Apia on 7th November 1889. As we have seen Laupepa had then returned. The resumption of the conference was known to all, including both parties of the natives who were waiting advices from the Consuls. The arrival of the instructions found everyone, including the now unimportant Tamasese, keen to carry them out, and in November 1889 a year of double disaster closed with King Malietoa Laupepa upon his throne and peace and quiet throughout Samoa.

Little occurred in 1890 to disturb the calm. In May the revenue regulations were put into force,

but native taxation remained in abeyance. In the latter months of the year some irritation, native as well as white, was evidenced at the non-arrival of the high officials provided for by the Act, but this was relieved with the arrival at the New Year of the first Chief Justice, Conrad Cedercrantz, and four months later of the first President of the Municipal Council, Baron Senfft von Pilsach.

The year 1891 also opened favourably, and for some months matters apparently went smoothly. The three Land Commissioners appointed under the Berlin Act arrived in Samoa and commenced their work. The final meeting was held on December 5th 1894, by which time the Commissioners had dealt with just short of four thousand claims. Their work was as well done as circumstances allowed. Its importance and value to Samoa can hardly be exaggerated for it standardised all foreign titles throughout the group. The expenses of the Commission were borne by the Three Powers. In April Tamasese died. Peace reigned, but beneath the seeming peace there was a deep undercurrent of native disaffection. Mataafa without doubt was secretly strengthening his position, and that, at first, without great opposition from Laupepa. It is impossible to indulge in heroics for either side. Laupepa proceeded regularly, backed by the

support of the Consuls. Mataafa, secretly scheming, felt the great weakness of his position at Apia. On May 31st he accordingly changed ground to Malie, the ancient home of the Malietoa family, and with him he took certain political prisoners from their confinement in the royal gaol. The effect was twofold. It created Mataafa a candidate for kingship and it demonstrated his defiance of the existing government. At the representation of the Consuls he modified his attitude. He sent back the prisoners and even himself returned to Apia for a two days' conference with the Government. But on the main issue he stood firm. He would remain peaceful, but he appealed to the free right of election by the Samoans given by the Berlin General Act.

Let us look at Mataafa's position for the time being. He still wore the mantle of the conqueror of Vailele. He had filled the position vacated by Laupepa ably and with a wise self-restraint. He had overturned the alliance of Tamasese, Brandeis and German interests. In the eyes of his countrymen he was still a victor; by rank, by achievement, he was of great influence among them. White men coquetted with him, for purposes of profit or notoriety. But he was not yet king; his personal following was very far from preponderating; and there is little doubt that his right to succession was,

at this time at anyrate, regarded by the Samoans generally as inferior to that of Malietoa.

Mataafa, then, was established at Malie. The American Consul wished to have the pretender's claims submitted by the Consuls to their respective Powers, but the German Consul was firm that "Germany would not consent to the consideration of Mataafa's claim under any circumstances," and in view of the difficulties attending the establishment of Mataafa, even should his claim be recognised by the Powers, and of the inadvisability of giving fresh encouragement to the opposition, the American Consul desisted. The three Consuls thereupon issued a Proclamation declaring that there was but one king in Samoa, and he Malietoa Laupepa.

For two years matters remained in this unsatisfactory position. The action of the Consuls was ratified from their Home Governments. But there was constant irritation. In September the deportation to the Tokelaus of five unruly Mataafan chieftains from Manono raised some excitement among the followers of Mataafa but it died away. Both Mataafa and Laupepa now canvassed for following. Early in 1892 the Government sent word all over the group that Mataafan villages should be destroyed, live-stock killed, and the

people driven out and forced to go to Malie. This was done, and it summarily confined the power of Mataafa, prevented the growth of disaffection, and strengthened the hands of the Government. Meanwhile politics and unseemly quarrels engaged the whites, politics governmental and municipal, quarrels universal. The Chief Justice found himself in a position of extreme difficulty and delicacy. On one side were the Consuls, until recently divided among themselves and now banded only by the terms of the Berlin Treaty. On another was the king, not too firmly established on his throne and with a pretender in active opposition. On yet another were one or more of the powers themselves in the persons of captains of whatever ships of war might be in the port. *Quot homines, tot sententiae.* He had no Courthouse, no staff, no body of laws, no rules of procedure. And he was subject, as he quickly found, to criticism by whomsoever cared to criticise. Soon the local paper was open and even scurrilous in attack. A pretty position for a judiciary! And he did what possibly was most fatal of all—he delayed. Had he opened his Court and gone ahead the result would probably have been the same, but at anyrate he would have been in order. There is no doubt that he worked, but apparently he misjudged the length of time at his

disposal. Then possibly he became the subject of mixed feelings and being a man of some parts he watched his opportunity outside. In 1893 he left Samoa and it is understood acquired an important position in Europe.

Meanwhile, in 1892, the general irritation was increased by depletion of the Treasury. While the native capitation was paid the finances of Samoa were ample and the incidence of taxation easy. But when the Mataafan element withheld payment the Government was threatened with bankruptcy. The President of the Council then applied for the decision of the Chief Justice as to whether the import and export duties provided by the Berlin Act should not be for the use of the Samoan Government instead of for the Municipality, and the Chief Justice ruled in favour of the Government. The members of the Municipal Council, and the Consuls too, talked, wrote, and threatened, but the Government was temporarily saved from bankruptcy and later an adjustment suitable to all parties was made.

The year 1892 closed in general dissatisfaction. With the new year came skirmishes between the rival native parties on Tutuila and elsewhere. On 26th April 1893 Mataafa hoisted his flag as king at Malie and both sides made preparation for war.

By July war was certain. On Saturday, the 8th, the government forces in number exceeding, probably, one thousand strong attacked a considerably less force of Mataafans at Vailele and completely defeated and routed them. Malie was evacuated and Mataafa with some of his chieftains and a small remnant of his forces fled to Manono. From there he attempted to land on Savaii, but was warned that if he did so he would be killed. So he continued on Manono, with the few forces remaining to him in utter demoralisation. There Laupepa's forces prepared to fight the last fight for complete victory, and without doubt the island would in due course have been captured and many lives taken. But the Powers intervened. A British and a German warship on 18th July steamed to Manono and to them Mataafa surrendered. He was deported with a few supporters, first to the Union Group and afterwards to Jaluit.

So Malietoa Laupepa reigned as king. But again he was not undisputed. In March 1894 the younger Tamasese led rebels from Aana, which however the Government easily defeated, and a temporary settlement was effected by means of the Consuls. In April (for the third time in her history) New Zealand proposed to the Imperial authorities that she should assume control of the

group, and she now offered to undertake this control whether Samoa should be a British Protectorate or on behalf of the Treaty Powers. The offer was not accepted. In August there was further fighting and the rebel forts were bombarded by a British and two German ships of war. Again there was a temporary settlement, this time from the ships, and somewhat more lasting. Still smuggling of arms and ammunition, quarrels, and scheming engaged in delight or distress certain of the more prominent whites. Changes came and passed. Towards the end of 1893 Chief Justice Cedercrantz was succeeded in his office by Mr. Henry C. Ide, who was in turn succeeded in 1897 by Mr. W. L. Chambers. Both Mr. Ide and Mr. Chambers had been American Land Commissioners.

On the 3rd of December 1894 there died at the home he had reclaimed from the slopes of Mount Vaea, three miles behind Apia, Robert Louis Stevenson, the novelist. Stevenson had come to Samoa in 1889, and, as all who have read the "Vailima Letters" to his friend Sir Sidney Colvin will remember, he settled there the following year, and there his later world-known work was done. Always very fragile in health, he yet found in the warmth of Samoa more strength than elsewhere. His death was quite unexpected and was an actual

loss to the little community where he had been widely known and much beloved by the Samoans. His body was with great difficulty carried to the summit of the mountain overlooking his home, and there his rough tomb with its beautiful inscriptions still stands. In the eyes of the outside world the chief fame of Samoa will possibly long be that it is the place where Stevenson had his home and lies buried.

On 22nd August 1898 the long and troublesome reign of King Malietoa Laupepa terminated with his death. His remains were interred at Mulinu'u amid the splendours of a military funeral and to the crack of the rifle-shots of his warriors. On 17th September Mataafa, who was being returned to Samoa, arrived at Apia. and was nominated by his followers for the kingship. Two other champions were in the lists, Tamasese and Malietoa Tanumafili, son of Laupepa and his natural successor. Tamasese withdrew, and the matter then lay between Mataafa and young Malietoa.

In accordance with the Berlin Act the arbitrament of this dispute lay with Chief Justice Chambers, and after a lengthy hearing he on Saturday 31st December 1898 gave his decision that Malietoa Tanumafili was king. The decision was probably a correct one on the evidence, but

for the time being Mataafa was in strength and ready to dispute it. And dispute it he quickly and successfully did. Within a few hours civil war had again blazed forth; in fewer it was decided; the Apian cockpit buzzed with international difference till the hum of it caught the attention of the outside world and again nearly caused a great war; and then Samoa passed as a pawn in a larger game and so entered an era of peace and oblivion.

At the highest computations Mataafa had a force of some five thousand warriors against two thousand of Tanu and Tamasese, who joined Tanu. The issue was fought in and around Apia and the decision was quick and sharp. In four hours of afternoon fighting and a few morning skirmishes, but largely owing to the defection of a contingent from Savaii, Mataafa drove the Malietoa party out to the protection of the British warship in the harbour. There Tanu and Tamasese received the shelter of the warship pending instructions from the British Government.

Before fighting commenced protection of British and American residents had been resolved upon by the British Consul, Mr. Ernest Maxse, and by the Commander of the British ship-of-war *Porpoise*, then Captain F. C. D. Sturdee, the same who later as Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Doveton

Sturdee commanded with such signal success the British squadron at the Battle of the Falkland Islands. Two places of refuge were established under armed guard and here many white residents gathered. The warship was also placed at the disposal of any who wished to make themselves secure, and the Chief Justice and the American Consul betook themselves there.

On Monday 2nd January 1899 Mataafa's forces in possession of the town did considerable looting, and there was nearly trouble when a search by Samoans for enemy arms at one of the refuges was refused. However the steadiness of Sturdee and his lieutenant Gaunt combined with the firmness of the British Consul averted it.

With Mataafa in possession and Tanu and Tamasese aboard the *Porpoise* the trouble died away, and on 4th January the Consuls accepted the control of Mataafa, "now in *de facto* possession of the Samoan Government," pending instructions from the three Treaty Powers and without prejudice to their individual or collective rights and privileges. The President of the Council was to be the executive head officer of the provisional government.

Then came the inevitable white squabble. The American Chief Justice Chambers had taken refuge

on the *Porpoise*. The German President of the Council, Raffel, immediately seized the situation to strengthen the hand of Germany who by this time was beginning to show her support of Mataafa. Under the Berlin Act when the office of Chief Justice was vacated the President succeeded thereto. Raffel appointed one Marquardt Officer of the Peace, and straightway issued a public notice from the Provisional Government declaring that "the Supreme Court is closed and shall not be re-opened until further order from the Government." The following day Sturdee issued a notice:

On Board H.M.S. *Porpoise*,
Apia, January 7th, 1899.

The Supreme Court now under protection of the United States and Great Britain, *vide* Proclamation December 22nd, having been illegally closed by the Provisional Government and the orders of the Chief Justice posted at the Court House torn down by armed troops of that Government

The Chief Justice supported by U.S. Consul-General and H.B.M. Consul under the protection of the armed forces of H.M.S. *Porpoise* will hold a Court to-day at noon. If resistance is met, which it is hoped will not be, fire will be opened to support the rights of these two great Powers. In view of the possibilities, British and American subjects are therefore requested to take shelter on board *Porpoise* if they so desire.

F. C. D. Sturdee,
Commander,
Senior Officer N.E. Division.

That same morning the Courthouse was broken into by a detachment of marines, the German Consul and President protesting, but, no opposition being offered by the Natives, a Court was duly held. After the adjournment cheers were given for the British and American Consuls, and the latter responding perorated that it was true that he had no man-of-war in Apia harbour to call to his assistance, but there were plenty of United States men-of-war in the background—"and don't you forget it."

The thing was comedy, but with a hint of tragedy round the corner, for feeling against Germany was now bitter in the States, where German antagonism during the Spanish War was not forgotten. A joint proclamation on the situation issued from the Chief Justice and the British and American Consuls, only to be followed two days later by a counter proclamation from the German Consul. Then, with the exception of some foolish acts by private individuals, notably the insulting of the Chief Justice by one Grevsmuhl a leading German merchant, matters quietened again.

It is difficult for one who has not lived in a small and isolated tropical settlement to understand how things can go to such length. There is no doubt that German influence in Samoa could have

prevented the war that followed. There is no doubt that Germany in Samoa backed Mataafa against the decision of the Chief Justice (which decision was unquestionably honest on the evidence before him) and against a majority of the Powers, to the incensement of the gentlemen intrigued against. The German plan was not destined to be successful. It merely produced a deadlock which continued until March. Mataafa, favoured by German interests, regarded by the British and American factions as a rebel, held power. On 6th March the U.S.S. *Philadelphia*, Admiral Albert Kautz, arrived in Apia. The Admiral summoned a meeting of the Consuls and the senior naval officers aboard his ship. On their arrival he read a memorandum that as there was sufficient force at Apia representative of the three Powers, the Consuls should unite to bring about peace. The German Consul protested and refused to act without instructions from his Government. The others resolved to uphold what they considered the plain provisions of the Berlin Act and to dismiss the provisional government of Mataafa. Thereupon Admiral Kautz issued a proclamation calling upon the Mataafan chiefs to return to their homes. Mataafa in consequence evacuated Mulinu'u and went inland. The German Consul then issued a

proclamation upholding the provisional government and Mataafa's forces surrounded the town. The Admiral's men fortified Mulinu'u and some two thousand Malietoans entrenched there. Accordingly Mataafa barricaded roads and fortified properties, some British, within the municipality. On the 10th the British Consul and certain naval officers were stopped by Mataafan forces at the Ifi Ifi cross-roads, an incident in the course of which firearms were drawn and which might easily have resulted fatally. The following day the Admiral sent an appeal to Mataafa to lay down arms and make peace, and, the messenger being insolently received, an ultimatum was then sent that if the municipality was not vacated by the forces of Mataafa a bombardment would commence at one o'clock that afternoon. The proclamation was ignored by the Mataafans.

At half past twelve the U.S.S. *Philadelphia* and H.M.S. *Royalist* and *Porpoise* opened fire on out-lying villages and, later, on the Mataafan forces lying inland of Apia. The incident is historical. As the *Porpoise*, bound from the harbour for destruction of coast villages, steamed past the *Philadelphia*, the band of the American ship played her out with "God Save the King." Ten years, save only one day, before, and in the same unreliable roads, though in

a vastly different sea, the *Calliope*'s gallant and successful effort to cheat the storm had drawn rousing cheers from the *Trenton*, herself doomed to disaster—cheers as rousingly answered. But now, and it is believed for the first time in history, Briton and American were united against a common foe. It was not to be the last, nor indeed was it so very long before that the British had stood by their kinsmen to see fair play. The extraordinary thing is that, with their community of aspiration and blood, active co-operation had not come sooner.

Detachments were also landed in the town. That night the rebel forces made a fierce attack on Apia during which three British sailors were killed. The following night an American sentry was shot dead at his post. For eight days the bombardment and forays continued. Two old cannon and some boats were captured from the Mataafans, and there was continuous fighting between the rival native forces. Meanwhile many inhabitants of the town took refuge on board the *Royalist*, and a number also left Samoa, being urged to do so by the naval authorities so as not to hinder fighting operations.

On March 23rd Malietoa Tanumafili was crowned king in Mulinu'u. On the 25th, the fleet having been meanwhile strengthened by the arrival of H.M.S. *Tauranga*, the two Consuls and the

naval commanders issued a proclamation offering immunity to all if they would acknowledge this kingship and notifying that "the very strongest measures will be taken at once against all rebels who do not comply with this proclamation." Mataafa refused until the three Powers were in agreement.

Reinforcements to the king's forces continued to arrive during the last week of March and gradually the control of the Apia district passed largely to their hands. On March 29th the village of Magiagi, lying back of Apia, was captured. On Easter Saturday, 1st April, combined forces consisting of British and American landing parties to the number of one hundred and ten, and Malietoan forces numbering it is understood about one hundred and fifty, having burnt a coast village, set out to return to Apia by the road through the German Firm's plantation of Vailele. About a mile inland of the places where the Germans had met disaster in 1888 they were ambushed by Mataafans in great strength. In the attack that followed the Malietoans running short of ammunition retreated, and the little party of whites were opposed to overwhelming odds. The hope of the party lay with the American Colt Q.F. gun, of which native troops were greatly in fear, but this

unfortunately had received a wetting, broke down, and had to be abandoned after being thrown out of gear. The bulk of the party got away to the beach, but they left two American officers and two men, and one English officer and two seamen, dead upon the field. The American detachment had five wounded, the British two.

Meantime reinforcements from the ships had been sent for and dispatched but the night coming on they were able to do little. H.M.S. *Royalist*, lying off-shore to cover the expedition, threw shells above the retreating party and thus saved the situation. Tamasese troops later got on the field and recovered the bodies. The heads of all the officers had been taken in Samoan battle fashion, and the ears of the men, but the heads were later recovered and the remains were the following day interred at Mulinu'u Point. In July of the following year the bodies were removed to a spot somewhat nearer the town, and the granite monument erected above it bears the names of the men of the two great nations who thus gave up their lives in a common cause. Within sight and close range of it is the monument to the German sailors who fell at Vailele in December 1888.

Even before news of this disaster reached them, the peoples of the three Powers were annoyed—

more than anything else—at the situation that had again developed in this tiny spot. American feeling ran highest, but all were agreed that war over such a matter would be criminal. In Australasia the position aroused the keenest interest. The New Zealand Government announced that the government steamer would be sent to Samoa, and volunteer troops were enrolled from the Easter encampments for services there if required by the Home Government. Preparations were made to send five hundred men and machine guns. The offer of troops was not accepted, but the Government steamer was sent with despatches to Apia.

It was decided by the Powers that a Joint Commission, consisting of three members, one from each Power, should proceed under identical instructions at the earliest opportunity to Samoa, there to supersede all local representatives of the Powers. In order to save time the Commissioners were sent from America. The following officers were appointed: Mr. C. N. Eliot, second secretary to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington; Mr. Bartlett Tripp, formerly American Minister at Vienna; and, representing Germany, Baron von Sternberg. Instructions were dispatched to Samoa that all hostilities must cease pending the arrival of the Commission.

The despatches arrived in Samoa on the 22nd of April. The military authorities communicated with Mataafa who after some hesitation withdrew his forces from the troubled neighbourhood of Apia.

The Commissioners left San Francisco on 25th April, arriving in Apia on 13th May. They were empowered to deal with the situation as they found it upon arrival, and to place the affairs of the group on a peaceful and satisfactory footing, it being understood that the acts of the Commission were to be merely temporary and subject to the approval of their governments. The Commissioners were also expected to make a thorough, impartial investigation into the merits of the controversy between the representatives of the Powers at Apia and to report the results to their respective Governments, so that by ordinary diplomatic exchange such corrections might be applied to the situation as seemed necessary. The Commissioners had no power to alter the Treaty of Berlin, but might make recommendations to that end which, if unanimous, might be accepted.

It was made a condition by Germany that all the decisions of the Commissioners must be unanimous. It was hardly expected in England that their labours would be in agreement.

The work of the Commission was effective. In the first place it restored peace. Tanu, Tamasese

and Mataafa formally agreed to abide by the decisions of the Commission. On 10th June 1899 the Commission abolished the office of king until further agreement of their Governments, transferring the royal powers to the three Consuls. Dr. Solf was appointed President of the Municipality which then proceeded to continue its work. The hostile armies agreed to give up their arms, which the Commission agreed to purchase, payment being made some eighteen months later. A provisional government being thus successfully established and peace restored the Commission left Samoa and the warships were withdrawn.

The members of the Commission reported to their Governments, to whom it seemed that the only method of settling the Samoan difficulty was the partition of the group. Great Britain and Germany made a separate agreement by which Great Britain, for reasons which shall be hereafter referred to, surrendered to Germany her claim to territory in the Group. A Convention was then entered into by Germany, the United States and Great Britain which concluded the differences between the Powers in the following manner. All previous treaties and in particular the Berlin Act of 1889 were annulled. Germany and Great Britain renounced in favour of the United States all claim over the islands of

the group east of longitude 171° west of Greenwich. Reciprocally the United States renounced in favour of Germany all their claims over the islands of the group west of longitude 171° west of Greenwich. It was also expressly agreed that each of the signatory powers should continue to enjoy, in respect of their commerce and commercial vessels, in all the islands of the group, privileges and conditions equal to those enjoyed by the sovereign power, in all parts open to commerce.

The Powers further agreed to refer for decision the question of liability for damage to the properties of foreign residents in Samoa during the war to King Oscar II. of Sweden. This was done and the decision placed the liability on Great Britain and America. The settlement of the claims was tardy, one, and it is believed the last, having been paid in 1917.

To Anglo-Saxon readers the question at once arises: Why did England withdraw from the Group? The interest of New Zealand in Samoa in that year of 1899 was apparent, and has already been noted. The stated price was the surrender to England by Germany of certain islands in the Solomon group. But there was a further reason which colonial disappointment could not outweigh. The Boer war had commenced in October, France was Anglo-

phobe, and England was especially anxious to conciliate Germany. And Germany's desire for Samoan territory had long been plain. Lord Salisbury made reference to the Convention in his speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9th: "This morning you have learned of the arrangement concluded between us and one of the continental states with whom more than with others we have for years maintained sympathetic and friendly relations. The arrangement is above all interesting as an indication that our relations with the German nation are all that we could desire."

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMANY IN WESTERN SAMOA. (1900-1914)

THE first tidings of the Convention reached Samoa at the end of November 1899 by the steamer *Manapouri*, Union Steamship Company of New Zealand, from Auckland, whence cable news was available. Dr. Solf, then President of the Municipality, received the following February his appointment as first Governor and instructions to hoist the German flag.

This he proceeded to do on 1st March on the historic peninsula of Mulinu'u in the presence of practically the whole white population of Apia and of an immense concourse of natives. A party from the German warship *Cormoran*, then in port, assisted at the ceremony. It will be remembered that as far as Western Samoa is concerned the Convention amounted to no more than a nullification in favour of Germany by Great Britain and America of their claims to the territory, and a reservation of commercial rights. Annexation therefore was necessary if the islands were to be

taken over, and the Proclamation of the Kaiser, read at the ceremony, established this in the formal words: "We hereby in the name of the Empire take these islands under our Imperial Protection." The German Consul handed over the Imperial flag of his Consulate to the Governor and to the Commander of the warship. The Govenor there-upon declared the Islands to be German Territory, and solemnly hoisted the flag to the strains of "Heil Kaiser Dir" and a royal salute from the ship.

Benedictions from the missionaries followed, and Captain Emsmann of the *Cormoran* and Mataafa made speeches. The gallant captain had been long known in Samoa; he had been through the 1889 disaster and the guest of Government House at Sydney after it. His speech on this occasion is a rousing one; and, because there are yet many in the writer's own country who refuse to believe that the doctrines of Treitschke and von Bernhardi have produced a curious, though it is to be hoped only temporary, psychosis in any wide section of the German people, a translation follows — a translation be it said which loses much from the sonorous original :

"Where a German soldier in faithful duty to his Fatherland has fallen and lies buried, and where the German Eagle has struck his fangs into a land,

the land is German and German shall remain.' These words of our All-gracious Emperor and Lord have been fulfilled. Our comrades who lost their lives fighting in Samoa rest henceforth in German soil. It was on the 18th day of December 1888, the day of the fight by Vailele, when I stood after the retreat of our enemies, together with the to us so well-known gentlemen Hufnagel, Haidlen and Tiedemann, on the verandah of the house of the manager of the Vailele plantation which was perforated by the bullets of the enemy. What was to be the recompense of the shed blood of dead and wounded lying around us? So we asked one another. There was but one answer: 'Samoa shall be German.' And one of the gentlemen present added: 'So it will be for we have a Hohenzollern as Kaiser.' When ten years later I returned to Samoa I could report to His Majesty the Emperor: 'The Germans in Samoa have confidence in the German policy and look with complete conviction into the future. Animated by high patriotism the Germans living in Samoa do not give up hope to see Samoa in the future under the German flag.' The Day is come at last. Over us are flying the colours, Black, White and Red. 'The land is German and German shall remain!' For so ran the words of the All-Highest. His Majesty our All-Gracious

Emperor and Lord we thank utterly for the favourable issue of the Samoan question. Him, who, as the leader of the German men, looks carefully after the interests of his subjects all around our globe, Him who pledges all his power and his influence for the welfare of his people and his land, let us follow in the furtherance of Germanism. Let us train our children and our children's children in such a way that their fear of God, their faithfulness to their Emperor and the love of their Fatherland may last to the very day of their death. God shield, God save our beloved Emperor and his House. Hurrah for His Majesty our Kaiser and Lord!"

Several British residents left the Territory never to return. Among them were R. L. Skeen, late Chief Justice of Tonga who died there in 1916, and E. W. Gurr, now of American Samoa, both New Zealanders though Islanders by adoption.

His Excellency Dr. Wilhelm Heinrich Solf was a capable and careful administrator. He is the same Dr. Solf who still retains, when Germany no longer occupies any colonies, the high office of Imperial Colonial Minister and his utterances during the Great War will be remembered by many Colonials.

He found himself in charge of two specks of territory surrounded by great English territorial and

commercial interests, and these he, knowing that Pan-German expression would in no wise strengthen the cause for which he worked, sought assiduously to placate. He found a community in much dispeace, foreign and native. When he left it nearly eleven years later, for well-deserved promotion, all sections of the community were in harmony and trade was flourishing.

Solf first visited Fiji and studied British methods of colonisation there. He proceeded slowly to establish an efficient and stable government, knowing well that only thus could satisfaction be. Existing regulations were gradually modified to suit the new requirements. In May he created, in lieu of the Council of the Municipality, a Governor's Council of six members, two of whom were British. German government officials came from Germany and a wholesome, if somewhat costly, system of civil service was established. At least one of these officials was British. The German Vice-Consul at Sydney, one Hubert Knipping, was temporarily appointed Judge of the Court having jurisdiction over whites. For the first time in history Samoa saw and felt the benefit of a good and united government. Taxation was not sensibly increased, yet useful roads were slowly pushed out from Apia and public buildings rose one after another.

Through the generosity of an elderly and wealthy German who had retired to Samoa from Vladivostock, a well-equipped hospital was erected amid pleasant surroundings above Apia and a covered market-place of concrete and iron was built in the heart of the town. In a foreign community where a certain laxity of control had long existed, it was impossible with success and contentment to suddenly fix the iron collar of law or convention, and these matters were slowly and even with good nature adjusted. And equality of justice was impartially extended to all foreigners.

Nor was Solf's policy with the Natives less considerate and successful. In August he made pronouncement at Mulinu'u of an elaborate system of creation of government native officials. By thus appointing chiefs to positions of local control of their villages and people as government servants he brought the whole of the natives directly under government authority without any change being felt by them. He created Mataafa Alii Sili, or nominal head of the native government officials, a title which was abolished on the death of Mataafa, full of years, in 1912. The native parliament was continued, purely to assuage native feeling, until 1906, when Solf finally dissolved it. The free and primitive customs of the Samoans, notably in regard

to marriage, were treated with consideration and for the most part allowed to continue. Rules were made providing for annual augmentation of native cocoanut plantations. The sale of alcoholic liquor to natives was forbidden under severe penalties. Other beneficial ordinances followed. A permanent commission was appointed to settle the family ownership of native land.

Solf remained as Govenor until the latter half of 1910, when he left for Europe, receiving there in 1911 his appointment as Colonial Minister. During his absence Dr. Erich Schultz acted as Vice-Govenor, and in 1912 was appointed Governor.

Long misgoverned, long weakened by conflicting interests, the community soon settled its ruffled plumes under the steady, quiet policy of the new government. The story of the Colony became one of development, the surest sign, in times of peace, of stable governance. Cocoa and rubber claimed the attention of settlers and large companies were formed, mainly in Germany but also in Great Britain and Australia, for the opening up of new plantations in the foothills of Upolu. The question of labour had already become acute, for the Polynesian is incapable of continuous work. Accordingly arrangements were made with the Chinese Government for the importation of indent-

ured coolies and in April 1903 the first batch of 276 arrived. A book, written by one Lieutenant Richard Deeken and published in Germany, drew by its alluring optimism a number of German immigrants of small capital to Samoa. But Solf wisely discouraged small planters who were apt to become a burden on the little tropical colony. Areas for cocoa and rubber were cleared, planted and after the required number of years came into product. The export of cocoa rose from 92 tons in 1906 to 1033 tons in 1914, rubber from nil in 1910 to 67 tons in 1915. As plantations extended unfortunately tropical pests and diseases made their appearance, and some still have to be contended with. Canker has largely affected the cocoa plantations. More alarming were the depredations of the cocoanut beetle which first made marked appearance in 1911, and which for a time threatened to be a serious matter for the natives. Both required and still entail an immense amount of trouble and labour. As development increased so imports grew.

In 1902 a volcanic eruption, the first within the memory of the natives, broke out on the north side of Savaii. No loss of life or property resulted. In August 1905 a fresh and more serious outbreak occurred some miles to the eastward, and about

fifteen miles from the sea; for six years molten lava from the burning crater crept unceasingly down the long slopes to the seaboard, and many miles of good plantation and cultivatable land were destroyed. The natives of four coast villages were rendered homeless and provision had to be made for them by the Government on the island of Upolu. In August 1911 the eruption of lava ceased and the volcano has since been quiescent.

In July 1914 there was completed some six miles from Apia a powerful wireless station of the Telefunken pattern. Curiously the first published news it transmitted was of the European War.

Praise has been given German administration; there were matters that were not so pleasing. The Lauati incident of 1909 was rather a reversion to the dark ages. Lauati, a man of rank of Savaii, had for many years been famous as an influential native and more as an orator in his beautiful Samoan language. The exact cause of his incurring German displeasure has not been divulged, but the offender was long known to be pro-British and it is suspected that he had sent letters to the Colonies praying for their help in matters connected with taxation. However that may be, in the year mentioned Lauati and several other chiefs with their families were banished by German warship to

Saipan, of the Marianne Group. There they remained until Fortune's wheel having brought the British to Samoa and Japan to the Mariannes arrangements were made for their return, which after some difficulty was carried out in 1915. Unfortunately Lauati died on the return journey.

The system of government moreover was bureaucratic; the taxpayers had no direct representation. But the most vicious thing about the German administration was its persistent refusal to allow to the community a knowledge of its finance. The reason is obvious. It was part of the well thought out policy. Samoa soon commenced to pay as it easily can do, and Germany quietly pocketed the surplus. There were sufficient colonial deficiencies elsewhere no doubt. On the very best authority it may be stated that in the latter years of her administration in Samoa, Germany made substantial surpluses which were carried off in gold by warship on at least one occasion to swell the coffers of the Fatherland. In 1912 a surplus was thus available of a quarter of a million marks.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA IN EASTERN SAMOA. (1900 - 1917)

IT will be borne in mind that in regard to Eastern Samoa the Convention of 1899 amounted merely to a renunciation by England and Germany of this part of the group in favour of America. Unless there were accepted cessions from the Islanders, or annexation, the States therefore acquired no sovereign power. It will be remembered also that Germany on 1st March 1900 annexed Western Samoa under Proclamation of the Kaiser. America did not follow the precedent. On 17th April 1900 the Chiefs of Tutuila made formal cession of that island to the United States and on July 15th 1904 the Chiefs of Manu'a declared the authority of the States over their group. But Congress has never acted upon the cessions, nor has it defined the status of American Samoa, though the cessions were acknowledged by the President. As a consequence, regarding the eastern islands, "neither the Constitution nor the laws of the United States have been extended to them, and the only administrative

authority existing in them is that derived mediately or immediately from the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." The territory has been officially regarded as domestic, but the resident Samoans, while they owe allegiance to the flag, do not rank as American citizens.

On February 19th 1900 there issued from the Executive of the United States, under the hand of President McKinley, the following Order:

"The Island of Tutuila of the Samoan Group, and all other islands of the group east of longitude one hundred and seventy one degrees west of Greenwich, are hereby placed under the control of the Department of the Navy, for a naval station. The Secretary of the Navy will take such steps as may be necessary to establish the authority of the United States, and to give to the islands the necessary protection."

The command of the territory was accordingly placed by the Department of the Navy in the hands of a naval commandant whose orders contained the following clause: "While your position as commandant will invest you with authority over the islands in the group embraced within the limits of the station you will at all times exercise care to conciliate and cultivate friendly relations with the

natives. A simple, straightforward method of administration, such as to win and hold the confidence of the people, is expected of you by the Department."

Such was the open constitution of American Samoa. For eighteen years the community, native and white, has been governed under it; and though, as we shall see, there has been required outside the station little more than supervision, care too has been necessary. "The people" reported Commandant Sebree to his Department in 1902 "are in many ways happy, lazy, grown-up children. They love form and ceremony. They are courteous and hospitable, brave and kind. They are fond of giving and receiving presents. Most of them however are given to falsehood. They are suspicious of white men and are generally cheated by white men. I think by treating them justly and fairly they will soon see that it is not the purpose of the United States to take their lands, or to tax them, or to do anything but hold this harbour, and to protect and care for the people, and to permit them, as far as possible, to govern themselves."

No understanding could be more instinctive: no general policy better or more laudable. In what way was it carried out?

On May 1st 1900 a regulation, issued by Commandant B. F. Tilley, sketched a form of govern-

ment for the territory on simple and wise lines. There is no scope in American Samoa for extensive plantation or even trading interests such as exist upon Upolu, and, outside the limits of the naval station, the details of government could in large measure be left to the natives. For many generations the territory had been divided into three divisions politically and these were preserved as administrative districts, each under a native governor who was made responsible for the welfare and good order of the people of his district. The subordinate local hereditary chiefs were preserved and town rulers were, subject to approval, annually appointed in accordance with native custom. By this means a far wider self-government and freedom has been left to the Samoans than is permitted in German Samoa.

A judicial administration was simultaneously established.

In 1900 also provision was made, on rather novel lines, for securing to the natives the maximum price for their copra crops, practically the only export, and at the same time for the efficient collection of taxes. Under this system the whole of the copra is delivered to the government by whom it is sold on open contracts to the highest bidder. A certain proportion of the crop is allocated for the year's

taxes, levied principally for the payment of native officials. The sum—commonly known as the tax surplus—remaining after payment of officials and cost of handling the crop is refunded to the natives at the end of the season. On the whole of the balance of the crop the natives are advanced an amount fixed by the government, and the excess of this is also paid them at the end of the season. The government determines the amount of taxation each of the three native districts shall pay, but the incidence of the tax and its collection are fixed from the district itself.

Under this system the quality and price of the copra exported has been vastly improved, and in the first ten years of American occupation it had increased in quantity ninefold.

The manufacture, importation without permit, and sale to natives of intoxicants has been forbidden unde heavy penalty. Alienation of native land is allowed only by permitted leases up to forty years. The naval government has undertaken the entire medical work of the territory, for there are no civil practitioners in American Samoa. A well-equipped native hospital has been built just outside the station with a dispensary erected by the natives and a drug store. Branch dispensaries have been opened at Leone and Manu'a. Every effort

is made to endeavour to teach the Samoans care of the sick and the laws of hygiene.

In 1914 a Government Bank was established, the deposits of which are guaranteed by the island government. This has proved a great benefit to the residents.

By such means the accustomed life of the natives and their self-government were, so far as modern conditions allow, preserved. The story of the American occupation is entirely free from any occurrence of disturbance or native trouble. Indeed in the lives of the Samoans during this period one incident alone calls for record. In January 1915 a violent storm devastated the little Manu'a group, wrecking nearly all the houses on the islands and destroying native plantations and cultivations. It was estimated that sixty-five per cent. of the coconut palms were blown down. The group has since largely recovered, but no copra has yet been exported. Relief was necessary and it was promptly and generously given. In addition to local assistance Congress in March granted an appropriation of ten thousand dollars in aid of the sufferers, and the Red Cross Society of the United States two thousand dollars towards the purchase of supplies. These grants went far to alleviate the suffering which without them must have followed the event.

Outside of native interests there remains only the naval station, beautifully situate on the splendid harbour of Pago Pago. The value of the situation of this harbour at the strategic centre and route intersection of the Pacific had long been appreciated by America, and as early as 1891 the Government of the United States had taken steps to purchase from the natives a site for a naval station. Work was started on the station in 1898, and steady improvements have been the order since. The station is practically built upon reclaimed land. There is a coal-shed with a capacity of over four thousand tons, and a steel wharf with thirty feet of water alongside. All requisite naval stores are housed. The station is thoroughly hygienic and modern; it is equipped with telephones, ice and cold-storage plant, mosquito-proof bungalows, water-supply, electric light, high and low power wireless plants, and a dispensary. Well kept palms and native and foreign trees slope from shorn lawns to the peaceful waters of the inner harbour. Across the bay beneath towering mountains peep native villages and churches and prominently there looks forward the new government high school for native boys. The place wears an air of neat progress.

Once in three weeks the serenity of the harbour is broken by the advent of the mail-boats of the

Oceanic Steamship Company, and the whole station awakens to life. Native trade in curios and island produce becomes brisk. The steamers stay but a few hours and the station then returns to its own business and routine.

America's entry into the war did little to disturb the tenor of the community except that the personnel of the station was inevitably changed. Since 1914 there had been interned in Pago Pago two German steamers, the *Elsass*, a Norddeutscher Lloyd liner which had escaped without clearance from Sydney a few hours before England's entry into the war, and the *Staatssekretär Solf*, a small trading steamer of the German Firm, which had thought it healthier in August 1914 to be away from Apia Harbour. Both ships were seized. The *Elsass* was sent to America, and the *Solf*, now named the *Samoa*, is employed at the naval station and has also done useful carrying work for the sister administration at Apia.

CHAPTER X.

THE BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION. (1914-1917)

FROM Serajevo to Samoa is a far cry indeed. Yet the tragedy which, on the morning of Sunday 28th June 1914, awed the people of the Bosnian capital and gave to Imperial Germany her chance to strike for world power, soon produced a remote sequel by the reefs of Apia.

At first the news of complication in Europe disturbed the tenor of the little Samoan community, outside of officialdom, but slightly. The German Pacific Fleet had been expected on 27th July, preparation had been made to welcome it with Apia's traditional hospitality, and its non-arrival was a matter of considerable disappointment. It was not, in the beginning, generally expected that Britain would intervene, and it was hoped that Samoa would be sufficiently protected by the Pacific Squadron of the German Navy to be free from danger. Among the Germans, at least, it was thought that the war would be short—that the speedy fall of Paris would bring a speedy peace.

For Germany was strong; her enemies were disunited and weak; she would quickly put forth her great strength, and then it would all be over.

The news of the entry of Great Britain into the war reached Samoa and was proclaimed on 6th August, and it may safely be said that few Germans in Samoa regarded that event either lightly or with pleasure. Dr. Schultz, as Governor, notified Acting British Vice-Consul Trood that British subjects would not be interfered with, and that their properties would be protected, as long as they remained peaceful and neutral. The following day the British and Chinese Consulates issued a proclamation enjoining their respective nationals to maintain a peaceful and quiet attitude. Apia was specially policed and order was maintained.

In New Zealand the possibility of Britain's participation in a great European war sent a thrill through the country during the last days of July. As possibility grew to likelihood men instinctively began to wonder what their own share in the titanic struggle might be. On all sides there was a firm desire and determination to help. In the first days of August territorial units were offering volunteers. On Wednesday 5th August the Prime Minister moved in the House of Representatives "That in view of the fact that Great Britain has

become involved in war with Germany, this House approves of the necessary steps being taken by the New Zealand Government to have in readiness an expeditionary force." All forces, he continued, sent from New Zealand must be volunteer forces, joined by the free will of the individual, to go abroad and fill the ranks when required. They should also recognise that whatever the number of men the Government fixed, it would be, as it were, oversubscribed by loyal and devoted men, not anxious to participate in war as war, but ready to the end to maintain the honour of the country to which they belonged. The sentiments of the Premier received the quiet "hear, hears" of the House, and the resolution was put and carried unanimously.

On the night of Thursday 6th August the Secretary of State in London cabled His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand as follows:—

"If your Ministers desire and feel themselves able to seize German wireless station at Samoa we should feel that this was a great and urgent Imperial service. You will realise, however, that any territory now occupied must at the conclusion of the war be at the disposal of the Imperial Government for the purposes of an ultimate settlement. Other Dominions are acting on the same understanding in a similar way."

It is almost needless to say that this cable was not published at the time. The acceptance was prompt. Men were immediately enrolled, and by 11th August a force of six nurses and fourteen hundred and four officers and men of various units, drawn chiefly from the towns of Wellington and Auckland, was complete with field and machine guns, and kits had been distributed. It was ordered to parade for a route march on Wednesday, the 12th, but was embarked in two troopships instead. Early on the morning of Saturday, the 15th, the expedition sailed, picking up its escort the following day. A north-westerly course seemed to indicate Australia but first call was made at Noumea in New Caledonia where H.M.A.S. *Australia* and *Melbourne*, and the French cruiser *Montcalm* joined the expedition, now consisting of six warships and two transports, which, under the command of Rear-Admiral Patey, then proceeded to Samoa via Fiji. On the night of 28th August it was off the south coast of Upolu, and early the following morning it was abreast of Apia.

To such a force there could be no suggestion of resistance from Western Samoa. The little cruiser *Psyche* entered Apia harbour; the channel was swept for mines; and from the *Psyche* a landing party under a flag of truce carried a letter from the

Admiral demanding the surrender of town and territory. The demand was refused, but it was intimated that no resistance would be offered. Immediately the New Zealanders were disembarked and the town and wireless station seized and picketed. Next morning the Union Jack was formally hoisted by the Force Commander, Colonel Robert Logan of the N.Z. Staff. The seizure was effected entirely without fighting, but it was a good job and a neat performance. "We simply did what we were told to do" said Colonel Allen, Minister of Defence, in New Zealand the following day; "the future of the island rests with the Imperial authorities."

On Tuesday, 1st September, the warships put to sea, leaving the New Zealanders in occupation. Certain prominent officials, including Dr. Schultz, were sent to New Zealand as prisoners of war.

Then commenced the varied delights of an Occupation. The troops were distributed to positions, and, as it was known that certain ships of the German Pacific Squadron were in the South Pacific, many military precautions were taken. The German Government officials refused, after consideration, to serve during the occupation except on behalf of Germany, and they were accordingly dismissed. Their places in the civil administration

had to be filled from the Occupying Force and from local British residents.

The occupation at first was far from uneventful. On 14th September there arrived off Apia from the China station the two sister armoured cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, each of 11,400 tons, of the German Pacific Squadron. One entered the harbour slowly. The troops ashore were at stations. For a time it was thought bombardment was imminent, but both ships steamed westward after a stay of from three to four hours off the port. From Mulifanua, some twenty-four miles west of Apia, they were visited by two German planters who were afterwards transferred to New Zealand. The ships then steamed away to the north-west. They did not return. On September 22nd they shelled Papeete, and their subsequent battles and final destruction in South American waters are matters of greater history.

On September 23rd eleven German sailors, escaped from the interned *Elsass* at Pago Pago, put in at Apia in the ship's cutter under the mistaken belief that the place had reverted to German hands. They were promptly taken prisoners and later transported to New Zealand.

The Force soon settled down to a workaday life. The humour of the situation appealed to not

a few and it quickly found expression in the publication of a newspaper, which, as "the unofficial organ of the Advance Party," was called *The Pull-Thro*, and which came out in six numbers with marked success. Some of the troops found local diversion, and some saw a good deal of the island of Upolu. But the game was by no means one long joy. The health of the troops around Apia suffered considerably from minor tropical ailments toward the end of the year. Skin troubles, dysentery, and fevers, to say nothing of monotony, began seriously to affect the men. Sanitary precautions were taken, but unquestionably better arrangements in camp-sites, clothing, and food, should have been made. Yet the spirit of the men continued high—in retrospect it seems wonderfully so. Save for one break from discipline on Christmas Eve—a relief from restraint which time makes ludicrous and for which the troops paid literally as well as figuratively—the conduct of the men was not only good but even gentlemanly. And this is a fact which reflects credit on their officers as well as on themselves.

In April 1915 the occupying troops were relieved by a much smaller garrison of men over military age. Colonel Logan remained as Administrator of the occupied territory with those of the original

force who were performing civil duties in the military administration. The business of the occupants became that of continuing, under the Hague Convention, the government of the country under German law, and as nearly as might be in accordance with the German pattern, and providing that government with the requisite military support. The precedents of departmental business were a heritage from the previous administration. It may be said, almost without denial, for it was as fully acknowledged by German as by Briton, that the departments of the government were, almost from their inception, running efficiently, and that the business of the country was carried on at least as promptly as before. To this end certain of the German officials had the wisdom to assist.

Towards the end of 1914 the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand, which long had provided the only regular steam service to Apia, opened a branch there.

In 1915 the Bank of New Zealand also showed its enterprise by opening a branch. Thitherto banking methods had been unknown in Western Samoa; merchants however soon commenced to avail themselves of the institution; and the financial convenience afforded has proved a boon, not only to the community and the administration, but also to outsiders having business relations with Apia.

In 1915 also the German Firm was placed from New Zealand in military receivership, and in 1916 all other German trading concerns of any importance were closed, and their trade assets liquidated. By the end of 1916 German trade was broken, at any rate for the time being.

Long before 1915 had closed active war had passed Samoa by. In 1916 there was formed at Apia a volunteer company of British and Allied nationalities some eighty strong, and the services of this force have afforded considerable support to the security of the administration.

Little more remains to be said. There have been no native disturbances and no affairs of note. Indeed the day of native disturbance, where government is not unduly oppressive, has long gone by. Many questions of government and of military control have come up, and have been decided. Questions there are still; the labour question is acute. But the occupation is still in progress; its record is incomplete, and cannot in justice yet be accounted or criticised. In Western Samoa, as elsewhere, there are people who are doing what they can to serve their country, as well as the land where they have found themselves, until the end and the outcome of the war.

The future of the territory is being decided upon the blood-stained fields of France. The end is not

yet, but the result is clear. When sanity and decency shall have routed extravagance and oppression, when peace shall come to be decided upon a footing that can be permanent, of the multitudinous matters for debate possibly the least important of them all will be the disposition of Western Samoa. Three nations at least will have participation in claims to it, for it will be impossible that the American people should have no concern in the future of the group wherein they are already shareholders. Our own claims are large; every Briton will wish to see the flag remain. But if that is not to be, then the great Republic whose history and instinct have ever been the antithesis of Prussianism, as her greatness and virility will be its final doom, whose record in Samoa has been clean beyond question, can be trusted even as ourselves to secure in this remote portion of the earth the rationalism and liberty to which she and all her Allies stand pledged.



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